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**INDEX TO VOLUME XX**  
**(For the year 1929-30)**

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ARCHÆOLOGY IN MYSORE.

By RAO BAHADUR H. KRISHNA SASTRI, B.A.,

*Late Epigraphist to the Government of India.*

(COMMUNICATED BY C. HAYAVADANA RAO, ESQ., B.A., B.L.)

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[A MELANCHOLY interest attaches to this Memorandum which was drawn up by the late Rao Bahadur H. Krishna Sastri, B.A., formerly Epigraphist to the Government of India. Mr. Krishna Sastri was a native of Mysore and had his early education in Bangalore. By dint of exertion he rose to be one of the finest scholars in the archæological field. The late Dr. E. Hultzsch, under whom he worked and obtained his first training, had the greatest regard for him as will be seen by a reference to the introduction to his monumental work on *Asoka's Inscriptions*. Mr. Krishna Sastri's views on what should be done to further the cause of archæological research in Mysore deserve accordingly to be considered as those coming from a scholar and practical archæologist of repute. He knew the epigraphic field of South India as none else, perhaps, knew it. He was, besides, an eminent scholar in Sanskrit—descended from a family of renowned grammarians, rhetoricians, logicians and Vedantins—Pali, Telugu and Tamil. His proposal of a quarterly journal for Mysore Archæology on the lines of the *Epigraphia Indica* is quite a modest one and it is to be hoped that it will receive the support it deserves both from the Mythic Society and the Government of Mysore.

I need only add that the Memorandum published below was prepared, at my request and in consultation with me, by the late Mr. Krishna Sastri and embodies his personal views in the matter. The original draft prepared by him had been personally revised by him so that readers get below what he thought should be the final form of his memorandum.—C. H. R.]

### Memorandum.

Archæological work generally falls under the two main heads:—(a) Conservation, and (b) Publication. The former includes collection of all available archæological material in architecture, anthropology, ethnology, pre-historics, philology, folklore, literature in MSS. and in print, epigraphy on stone, copper, bamboo, cadjan or other writing material, medals, seals, coins, talismans, etc., and their proper preservation *in situ* in suitable museums. The latter consists in the proper interpretation of these—printing, indexing and issuing in such convenient form or forms as to place the results within the easy reach of scholars, Indian and European, who, in their independent research work, are expected to collate, compare, infer and draw up a connected account of the country from the materials supplied, and placing it side by side with what is also gathered from the pre-historic and Puranic ages as deduced from the Vedas, Smritis, Puranas and other early literature,\* add to the accumulated wealth of wisdom and guide the progress of the present generation in all aspects of their national life and activities. To do all this is no doubt a tremendous task. But Governments in India and outside have accepted the value of such research and started, as one of their primary duties, the preliminary work in archæology, up to at least the stage indicated, when scholars could voluntarily continue and complete the same without groping for facts.

Applied to our Mysore State, the archæological work done so far includes the departmental reports on epigraphy and temple architecture which, since the time of Rao Bahadur R. Narasimhachar, have been replete with information on the material collected each year with copious illustrative photographs and figures. It is not known if architecture, anthropology, ethnology and folklore have been so systematically worked out and recorded. As regards anthropology and ethnology, we are aware of the monographs on castes and tribes in Mysore issued by the late Mr. H. V. Nanjundaiya, and now under republication in book form. They, however, record but the result of inquiries in a few select centres and cannot be said to exhaust ethnographic studies in this State. As to folklore, little or nothing systematic has been so far done. The Oriental Manuscripts Library, under the

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\* Preserved in the Oriental MSS. Library, whose work must also be taken into account in writing a complete history of the country.

direction of Dr. R. Shama Sastri, has been issuing descriptive catalogues periodically. In the matter of epigraphical publication, Mr. Rice has issued twelve exhaustive volumes of *Epigraphia Carnatica* with thousands of Mysore Inscriptions transcribed and translated. He has written also a very readable and valuable account of the various families that ruled in Mysore from the earliest times in his book entitled *Mysore and Coorg from Inscriptions*. In the *Mysore Gazetteer* (two volumes), now under revision by Mr. Haya-vadana Rao with the permission of Government, he has, where necessary and convenient, gathered much useful information on social history, land revenue, government, religion, as far as he could obtain, from inscriptions and literature. But a great deal remains yet to be done. The few following are put down by way of suggestions:—

(a) A detailed survey of all antiquities under the several heads mentioned above must first be completed. That this has not been so done is evident from the hundreds of inscriptions which are being discovered year after year by the Archæological Department. New copper inscriptions, new manuscripts and new coins are also being largely found.

(b) Local museums on important ancient sites must be started in order to preserve the architectural and sculptural specimens excavated *in situ*.

(c) Conservation of old temples, tombs, *virakals*, sati-stones, or memorial columns must be extended and proper supervision provided for.

To achieve the three objects specified above, technical training must be given to three Probationary Assistants as in the office of the Director-General of Archæology in India, so that they may start fresh excavations in ancient Jaina and Buddhist sites, ruined cities and dilapidated temples.

These being done, the following scheme may be adopted advantageously for carrying out to completion the publication portion of archæological work. Dr. Fleet suggested some fifteen or twenty years ago, some time after the twelve volumes of the *Epigraphia Carnatica* were completed by Mr. Rice, that the numerous important inscriptions included in these volumes which, in their present consolidated form, are of little practical value for scholars, may be re-published each separately, with critical notes and historical introductions as in the *Epigraphia Indica*, issued by the Government of India—due attention being always paid to illustrative plates. To do this, the Archæological Director and his three assistants (*viz.*, the probationary students mentioned above) will not be enough since their attention has to be entirely devoted to collection work in the various branches of archæology, conservation of monuments and inspection, excavation and reporting. A special scholar, therefore, who has had wide experience in editorial work and has himself been engaged in historical research, must be asked to edit the Journal which,

if it is to be a monthly, might consist of 16 to 20 pages of royal quarto or if quarterly, of 48 to 50 pages, just like the present *Epigraphia Indica* at Calcutta. The journal may be called consistently with the old name, *Journale Epigraphia Carnatica*. To do this satisfactorily the help of a small establishment—a typist clerk and a probationary epigraphical student—will be necessary. The editor need not be a full-time officer. He may receive an honorarium in proportion to the work turned out while the helping staff must be permanent on the Archæological Department. Ethnology, anthropology, architecture and numismatics might be similarly entrusted to honorary workers after all necessary preliminary work is done by the probationary students under the direction and control of the Archæological Director.

It is certain that if properly managed and edited, oriental scholars of reputation such as Drs. Thomas, Sten Konow, Luders and Vogel will readily contribute to help the progress of the journal and many Indian scholars too will readily send in their articles. To popularize and encourage historical research among Mysoreans particularly, I may further add that the pages of the *Journale Epigraphia Carnatica* (Revised Edition), above proposed, may be open to all Kannada and Sanskrit students of the State. To invite such wide co-operation it will be necessary to fix an honorarium at Rs. 5 or Rs. 6 per page of printed matter contributed, the latter rate being allowed in the case of contributions from Europe. By this means scholars outside Mysore, in India, Europe and America might also readily come forward to help by way of contributions. The journal must be solely devoted to publishing inscriptions as the *Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society* usually includes articles on other allied subjects such as anthropology, ethnology, architecture, numismatics, excavations, pre-historics and literature. The total cost including the outlay on plates, honoraria to contributors and the editor at Rs. 200 per one part of 48 printed pages published cannot exceed Rs. 5,000 per annum. The charges for printing, stationery, etc., will have to be borne by Government. The proposed journal may be issued as a supplement to the Mythic Society's Journal, the Mythic Society being made responsible, if it sees no objection to it, for its general management.

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# STUDIES IN VIJAYANAGARA HISTORY.

BY M. H. RAMA SHARMA, ESQ., M.R.A.S.

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## I. The Identification of Nuniz's Crynamata.

THERE are at least two theories current about the origin of the Vijayanagara empire. The older school, as represented by Sewell, Wilson, Wilks and Rangacharya, connects it with the Kâkatîyas of Warangal. The more recent school, as represented by Rao Sahebs Venkayya and Krishna Sastry, Dr. S. Krishnaswamy Iyengar and the Rev. Henry Heras, is inclined to favour its rise as a tributary state of the Ballâlas. On the other hand, there are not evidences lacking that it was connected neither with the Kâkatîyas nor with the Ballâlas, but rose upon the foundations of a state, almost unknown till now. To establish this, we have to critically examine whatever evidence still lingers about the events of this period.

On pages 291—295 of Sewell's *Forgotten Empire*, Nuniz relates in detail the story of an incident said to have happened at a place called Crynamata, close to Nagundi, or Nagundym. That these place names are not matters of accident will be sufficiently clear as the former word is repeated no less than six times, and the latter, once at least, in his chronicle. It is too well known to every student of Vijayanagara history that Nagundi or Nagundym stands for Ânegondi or Ânegunđi, the first syllable having been dropped off by the Portuguese writer.

After relating the story of the Delhi Sultan's expedition against "The King of Bisnaga," the route he took on his march and the camp he raised "in the site of that city of Nagundi," Nuniz continues his narrative thus:—

"And the King of Bisnaga\*, seeing his great power and how many troops he had brought with him, determined to abandon the city *which was very difficult to enter, close to which was, and now is a river which is called Nagundi, whence the city is called Nagundi*, and they say the city had its name because of it. And he fled for shelter to a fortress called *Crynamata which was by the bank of the river* and which contained much provision and water; but not enough for the sustenance of so many people as he had with him, as many as fifty thousand men. Therefore the king chose five thousand men and took refuge in the fortress; and for the rest, he bade them betake themselves to another fortress of his in another part of his kingdom.

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\* The italics are mine.

And being sheltered in the fortress, after he had taken order about his provisions, he was beset on all sides by the king of the people of Dely, who had already up to this time been at war with him\* *for twelve years*; over which siege little time was spent, because the people that were inside the fortress were numerous, and in a little space had consumed their provisions.

Then *the King of Bisnaga*, seeing the determination of the soldiers of the King of Dely that they would never leave the place without making an end of those whom he had with him in the fortress, made a speech to them all, laying before them the destruction that the king of the troops of Dely had caused in his own kingdoms†; and how, not content with that, he had besieged this fortress, so that now there was nothing for them to look to but death, since already there was no water in the fortress, nor anything left to eat. And (he said) that of the fifty thousand men who had been in the city of Nagundi, he had chosen them alone as his companions and true friends, and he begged of them that they would hold fast in death to the loyalty which they had borne him in their lives; for he hoped that day to give battle to the King of Dely. Then he said that already there remained to him of his kingdom and lordship nothing but that fortress and the people that were in it, and so he asked them to arm themselves and die with him in battle, giving their lives to the enemy who had deprived them of all their lands.

All of them were very content and glad at this, and in a short space were all armed; and after they were so, the king made them another speech, saying, "Before we join battle we have to wage another war with our sons and daughters and wives; for it will not be good that we should allow them for the use of our enemies." And the king said, "I will be the first to deal with my wife and sons." At this time they were all standing in a large open space which was before the citadel, and there by the hand of the king were slain over fifty of his wives and some sons and little daughters; and the same was done with their own hands by all who had wives and sons that could not fight.

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\* See *Forgotten Empire*, p. 294. On the same page Sewell adds a foot-note thus :—

There had been no special war with Aneundi that we know of; but the Rajah of that place had very possibly been directly affected by, if not actually engaged in, the wars between the Hindu Hoysala Ballalas and the rulers of Warangal and Guzerat on the one hand and the Muhammadan invaders from Delhi on the other.

† See *Ibid.*, p. 294. On the same page Sewell adds a foot-note thus :—

See Introduction, p. 13, "His Kingdoms" (*sens reynos*) refers to the territories of Muhammad Taghlaq, whose barbarities had resulted in the wasting and depopulation of large tracts.

When these nuptial feasts, so abhorred of all, were fulfilled, they opened the gates of the fortress, and their enemies forthwith entered and *slew all of them except six old men* who withdrew to a house.\*”

The same incident is detailed with slight variation by a contemporary Mussalman historian, Ibn Batuta, in the following words :—

“ Sultan Tughlik had a nephew, son of his sister, named Bahàu-din Gushtasp, whom he made Governor of a province. This man was a brave warrior, a hero, and when his uncle was dead, he refused to give his oath to the late Sultan’s son and successor. The Sultan sent a force against him.....there was a fierce battle.....and the Sultan’s troops gained the victory. Bahàu-din fled to one of the Hindu princes, called *the Rai of Kambila*.....This prince had territories situated among *inaccessible mountains* and was one of the chief princes of the infidels.

When Bahàu-din made his escape to this prince, he was pursued by the soldiers of the Sultan of India who surrounded the *rai*’s territories. The infidel saw his danger, for his stores of grain were exhausted, and his great fear was that the enemy would carry off his person by force; so he said to Bahàu-din, “Thou seest how we are situated. I am resolved to die with my family, and with all who will imitate me. Go to such and such a prince (naming a Hindu Prince) and stay with him; he will defend thee.” He sent some one to conduct him thither. Then he commanded a great fire to be prepared and lighted. Then he burned his furniture and said to his wives and daughters, “I am going to die and such of you as prefer it, do the same.” Then it was seen that each one of these women washed herself, rubbed her body with sandalwood, kissed the ground before the *rai* of Kambila, and threw herself upon the pile. All perished. The wives of his nobles, ministers and chief men imitated them, and other women also did the same.

The *rai*, in his turn, washed, and rubbed himself with sandal, and took his arms, but did not put on his breast-plate. Those of his men who resolved to die with him followed his example. They sallied forth to meet the troops of the Sultan, and fought till every one of them fell dead. The town was taken, its inhabitants were made prisoners and *eleven sons* of the *rai* were made prisoners and carried to the Sultan, who made them all Mussalmans.†”

\* Except in minor details, the above quotation very well agrees with the story of Nuniz, the only difference being that while the Portuguese

\* See Sewell’s *Forgotten Empire*, pp. 293 to 295.

† See *Elliot and Dawson*, Vol. III, pp. 614-615.

historian mentions the name of the fortress Crynamata, Batuta gives the name of the king as "The Rai of Kambila."

These proper names, Crynamata and Kambila, have puzzled nearly every scholar till now, especially the former having baffled all attempts at identification. In his foot-note on page 293 of his *Forgotten Empire*, Sewell says :—

"I have not been able to identify this name. It is possible that the first syllable represents the word "Śrī" and the whole may have been a special application of the upper fortress or citadel on the rocky heights above the town of Ânegundi."

This is clearly a guess, partly based upon the fact that, on Mēgôṭa, a hill overlooking Ânegondi, there are lines of fortification within which old shots and cannon balls are said to be found even to-day, and partly upon a vague tradition,\* which seems to connect this fortress with an incident similar to the one related above. The author of *The Never-to-be Forgotten Empire* also takes the same view in identifying Crynamata with Mēgôṭa Hill.† Yet another scholar, Prof. S. V. Venkatesvaran of the Maharaja's College, Mysore, attempts to locate it at Śringêri‡ in Kaḍûr District. Of these efforts, the last is, to say the least, simply fanciful, and can only be nothing better than playing upon the word Crynamata, without any consideration whatever to the topographical details given by Nuniz and Batuta, who locate it *close to Ânegondi*.

These difficulties as to the particular locality of Crynamata, cannot be got over, unless a student of history has recourse to the pieces of information scattered over Sanskrit and vernacular works of historical or quasi-historical nature. A passage in *Chennabasava Purāṇa* runs thus :—

ಮುಂತೆ ಹೊಸಮಲೆಯಲ್ಲಿ ಕುಂಪಲನೆನಿಸ್ವ ಭೂ |  
ಕಾಂತನಿಹನವನ ಸುಕುಮಾರಕಂ ರಾಮನಾ |  
ಥಂ ತನಗೆ ಕುಮ್ಮಟನೆನಿಸ್ವ ದುರ್ಗವ |  
ನಿರದೆ ಕಟ್ಟಿ ಸುವರ್ಣಯಿಂದಂ || ೭೭ ||  
ಅಲ್ಲಿ ತಾನಿರುತೆ ಸುತ್ತಣ ಭೂಮಿಪಾಲಕರ |  
ನೆಲ್ಲರಂಗೊಬ್ಬ ಹೊಗಳಿಸಿಕೊಳಲದಂಕೇಳು |  
ದಿಕ್ಕೆಯಿಂದಿರದೆ ಲಕ್ಕ ದಮೇಲೆ ತೊಂಭತ್ತ ರಾಸ್ತಾನಿರಂ ಕುದುರೆಸಹಿತ ||  
ಬಲ್ಲಿದ ಸುಖಾನರಾ ಕುಮ್ಮಟಕೆ ದಾಳಿಯಂ |  
ನಿಲ್ಲದೈತಂದು ತಾವೀರ್ಪರುಂ ಕಾದಿ ಬಳಿ |  
ಕಲ್ಲಿಯೇಬಯಲವ್ವ ರಾಗಲಾ ಕುಮ್ಮಟಂ ಹಾಳವ್ವದೇನೆಂಬೆನು § || ೭೮ ||

\* The tradition seems to be of recent origin, being an attempt on the part of some scholars to identify Crynamata with Ânegondi.

† See foot-note on page 5.

‡ See *Mysore University Magazine* for September 1923, p. 221.

§ See Kāṇḍa 5, Sandhi 9, verses 77 and 78.

When paraphrased, this means :—

There lived a king by name Kum̐pala at Hosamale. His favourite son Rāmanātha built a fortress called Kum̐maṭa. After occupying it, he conquered many neighbouring kings. At this news, a Delhi army, numbering 1,96,000, marched against him and laid siege to Kum̐maṭa. Thus driven to bay, both father and son (Kum̐pala and Rāmanātha) fought against the enemy and disappeared (*i.e.*, were killed). After this Kum̐maṭa went into ruins.\*

All the available manuscripts of this work in the Madras Oriental Manuscripts Library, give the same reading, with a slight change of a letter here and there. The only important difference is in a Mangalore edition of 1851, which calls Kum̐pala as Kaṁpila. According to Virūpāksha Paṇḍita, its author, the work was finished in 1584.†

The work called *Keladi Nṛipa Vijaya* of Liṅgaṇṇa Kavi, published by the Mysore Oriental Library, dealing with the history of the Chiefs of Nagar, adds a little more information to what is supplied by the *Chennabasava Purāṇa*. Verse 30 in Chapter IX, runs thus :—

ಅವರೊಳ್ಳಂ ಪಿಲರಾಯನ  
ಕುವರನೆನಿಪ್ಪುರುಕುಮಾರರಾಮನದಂಡಂ |  
ಬವರದೆ ಮುಳುಗಿಸಿ ಶೋಭಿಸು  
ವವನೀಮಂಡಳವನಾಳ್ ನಾ ಸುಲಿತಾನಂ ||

This means briefly :—

The Sultan, after having annihilated in battle the army of Kumāra Rāma, son of Kaṁpila, ruled over the earth.

By internal evidence which relates events that happened till 1763 A.D., the date of this work has to be taken to have been towards the close of the eighteenth century.

Yet another work called *Rāja-Kāla-Nirṇaya*, now in the Madras Oriental Manuscripts Library, details it still better, in the following verses :—

एतस्मिन्नंतरेकाले कुरुवंशप्रसूतजं ।  
कोशागारप्रतीहारौ वीररुद्रमहीपतेः ॥  
सुरत्राणेन निजिल्य वीररुद्रे धृते तदा ।  
रामनाथं सिधेवोते राजानं कोशपाले ॥‡

Though orthographically incorrect, when paraphrased, it means :—

After the capture of King Vira Rudra, in the interval which followed, two persons, one a treasurer and the other an usher, who were

\* The vernacular quotation is in the form of a prophecy and therefore the future tense is used.

† See *Kannada Poets*, Vol. II, p. 308.

‡ See *Rāja Kāla Nirṇaya*, p. 33.

of Kuru descent, came and took service under Rāmanātha, as the guardians of his treasury.

Nearly the same substance is repeated by two verses in *Śiva Tatva Ratnākara*, a religious work by Basavappa Naik of Keḷadi, who ruled from 1698-1715. It says :—

एतस्मिन्नंतरेकाले कुरुवंशप्रसूतजौ ।

कोशागारप्रतीहारौ वीररुद्रमहीपतेः ॥

आगतां यवनाक्रान्तावसहायौ शिलापुरी ।

रामनाथं सिधेवेते राजानं कोशपालने ॥\*

When translated this means :—

Meanwhile, two brothers, who were of Kuru descent, and treasurer and usher respectively, under King Vira Rudra, came to Śilāpuri when pressed by Yavanas. There they took service under Rāmanātha, as the guardians of his treasury.

Evidently this, as well as the quotation from *Rāja Kāla Nirṇaya* are both based upon an earlier work, which is said to have been either *Vidyā-ranya-Kṛiti*, or *Pitāmaha Samhite*,† neither available now.

There is no evidence in both these works as to the date of their composition; but as both of them bring the story to the close of the first dynasty of Vijayanagara, it has to be concluded that they were written some time in the fifteenth century. The only difference between these two quotations is in the third line, which says that “the two persons (un-named) being pressed by Yavanas (i.e., Mussalmans) came helpless to Śilāpuri.” Though, as a forecast of coming events, these two verses may not be of any value to the modern historian, yet, when taken together, with the other pieces of information, given in the earlier part of this article, it cannot but be striking with regard to the points common to all.

Two manuscripts in Kannada, now in the Oriental Library at Mysore one called *Kumāra Rāmana Sāṅgatyā*, by the poet Gaṅga, and the other called *Paradāra-Sōdara-Rāmana-Kathe*, by the poet Naṅjuṇḍa, deal with the incidents so far related, in a very exhaustive way. The date given for the composition of the former by Rao Bahadur R. Narasimbacharya is circa 1650‡, and for the latter, 1525.§ Of these, *Kumāra Rāmana Sāṅgatyā* gives a very graphic account of the last fight of Kumāra Rāma against the army of Delhi. Besides others who fell with him in this struggle, the name of Bahadur Khan,|| who was an officer of great reputation in his service, is also

\* See *Śiva Tatva Ratnākara*, Kallōla IV, Taraṅga XII, as quoted in *Keḷadi Nṛpa Vijaya*, Introduction, p. xix.

† See *Keḷadi Nṛpa Vijaya*, Introduction, p. x.

‡ See *Lives of Kannada Poets*, Vol. II, p. 423.

§ *Ibid.*, p. 203.

|| See Ch. VII, verse 303.

recorded. This is without doubt the Bahâu-d din of Ibn Batuta. In brief, the story of all the quotations can be summed up in the following words:—

After the fall of Pratâpa Rudra of Warangal, two persons\* fled southwards and took service under Kumâra Râmanâtha, son of a certain Kâmpila. The Sultan of Delhi, Muhammad-bin Tughlak, according to Nuniz, having heard of Râmanâtha's exploits, sent a big army to crush his growing powers. At this news, both father and son, retired to a newly built fortress called variously as Kuṁmaṭi, Kuṁmaṭa, Crynamata and even Śilâpuri. Here Râmanâtha put up a heroic defence; but being overpowered, was finally killed.

The first vernacular quotation agrees with Nuniz that the incident took place at Kuṁmaṭa. The rest connect it with Râmanâtha. The trouble is only with the name Śilâpuri. Even this cannot be a stumbling block as it may appear to us at first sight. Though there is no place called Śilâpuri at present, close to Ânegondi, it may after all be the Sanskritized form of a Kalloor in Kannada, which is the vernacular of the locality. To show that such transformations in nomenclature, are not uncommon among Sanskrit writers, we have only to recall the names of places like Êka-Śilâpuri meaning Ôragal (Warangal), Ghanagiri meaning Penukoṇḍa, and Hastikôṇapuri meaning Âneguṇḍi or Ânegondi. If taken in this sense, there are at least two such Kalloors that can answer our purpose. The first is close to Raichûr, and the other near Sindhanoor, both in the Raichûr Doab, Hyderabad State. But these being far away from the neighbourhood of Ânegondi, do not deserve to be taken seriously. The only other interpretation of Śilâpuri can therefore be "a town built of or among rocks." Nuniz says that the fortress of Crynamata was "very difficult to enter" and close to it "was, and now is, a river which is called Nagundy.†" Ibn Batuta emphasizes that the capital of "the Rai of Kambila" was situated among "inaccessible mountains."‡ The poet Gaṅga also assures us that Kuṁmaṭa was situated in the midst of Hills§, close to "the river Thuṅgabhadra at Hampi." and "Virûpâksha temple."|| These details about the situation of Kuṁmaṭa or Crynamata, can but dismiss from our minds any attempt at identification far off from Ânegondi, which as every visitor knows, is surrounded by hills, big and small, on all sides. In fact, there are even now two such places, one called Haḷe-Kuṁmaṭa and another Kumâra Râmana Kuṁmaṭa, both at a distance of about

\* These were, without doubt, Hukka and Bukka.

† See Sewell's *Forgotten Empire*, p. 293.

‡ See *Elliot and Dowson*, III, p. 614.

§ See *Kumâra Râmana Sâṅgatyâ*, Chapter VII, verse 54.

|| *Ibid.*, Chap. III, verses 51, 59, 91 and 95.

six to eight miles from Ânegondi. The name of Kumâra Râma prefixed to the latter, strengthens our inference that this place alone should be Nuniz's Crynamata where the incident of self-immolation is said to have taken place.

As to how Kummaṭa or Cummata could have been transformed into Crynamata, need not puzzle any student of history. The letter *r* after the capital *C* may be due to the error of the Portuguese copyists, or even the letter *U* written in its cursive and ornamental form. Instances in which the Portuguese as well as Mussalman writers have played havoc with Hindu proper names are too numerous to be noticed here. To mention only a few, the name of Achyuta Râya is spelt by Nuniz himself as Chitarao,\* Chetaraο,† Chytaraο,‡ and Tetaraο§. Besides, Gulbarga (Hind.) or Kalburgi (Kan.) is spelt in various ways as Culbergura|| and Calbergara¶; and Udayagiri as Odigair\$, Chandragiri as Chaodegary£, and Raichûr as Rracholl.® In the face of such reckless mispronunciation of words, it is idle to deny that Cummaṭa or Kummaṭa could not have been transformed into Crynamata.

In the whole chain of this argument, one link alone remains and that is, the historicity of Râmanâtha. Chronologically, all the Hindu accounts given above are not, so far, contemporary productions. Even Nuniz's version was gathered nearly two centuries after, during the reign of Achyuta Râya. This defect, though a little embarrassing to the modern critic, is more than balanced by the uniformity in the names of places, persons and incidents so correctly detailed in all accounts. Besides, Ibn Batuta, who was in India about this time, fully corroborates the story of the sacrifice of the "Rai of Kambila."% In the present state of lack of sufficient inscriptional data from the Hyderabad State, we have to fall back upon whatever tradition may yet survive in the neighbourhood of Kummaṭa (Crynamata). This is necessarily so as Râmanâtha was only a prince during his father Kâmpila's reign. Besides, he appears to have risen to prominence only a few years before the Kummaṭa incident. Moreover, according to the accounts given by Gaṅga and Nañjuṇḍa, he was in prison for some time. All these facts, make us a little pessimistic with regard to finding any inscriptions directly in his name. It is therefore necessary to make use of such traditions as may yet linger after the lapse of six centuries. There is a place called Kumâra Râmana Garaḍi-mane close to the elephant stables in the ruins of Vijayanagara. It may be that Kumâra Râma practised physical culture

\* See Sewell's *Forgotten Empire*, p. 373.

‡ *Ibid.*, p. 314.

|| *Ibid.*, p. 357.

£ *Ibid.*, p. 316.

† *Ibid.*, p. 367.

¶ *Ibid.*, p. 358.

® *Ibid.*, p. 316.

‡ *Ibid.*, p. 367.

\$ *Ibid.*, p. 316.

% This may be Rai Kambila, in which case it refers to King Kâmpila. Kâmpli was, without doubt, within his territories being so close to Ânegondi.



nere, or-better still, a house of physical culture was named after him some time during the Vijayanagara period on account of the heroic associations connected with his name. Another, a pond, called Kumâra Râmana Guṇṭa, is close to Yemme-Doddi, near Ânegondi. One inscription\* alone, so far, refers to Kumâra Râma in a passing way. This is from Kokoḍu Village, Thîrthahallî Taluq, Shimoga District, and is dated Śaka 1354, Paridhâvi, Mârgaśîra Bahula, Bidige, Budhavâra, roughly corresponding to 1432 A.D. This was during the reign of Dêvarâya II, and nearly a hundred years after Râmanâtha's death. It says that while one Sirigiri-Nâtha-Oḍeyar was ruling the Âraga country, a raid (ಪರಾವಳಿ) came to Kolavalige, when one Puṭṭagaḍe fought against it and fell in battle "like Kumâra Râmanâtha who went to heaven covered with arrows." The lines run thus:—

“ಕುಮಾರ ರಾಮನಾಥನ ಪ್ರತಾಪವಾಗಿ ಅಂಬುಗೂಡಾಗಿ

ಸ್ವರ್ಗವನ್ನು ಸೂರೆಕೊಂಡದಕೆ”

If nothing better, this inscription will at least establish that Kumâra Râma died as heroically as stated by Nuniz, Ibn Batuta and other literary evidences given in the earlier part of this article.

There is yet another way to prove that Kumâra Râma was a historical person. This is by showing that his father Kaṁpila, was a historical person.

The earliest available inscription† that refers to a Kaṁpila is a veeragal from Bâgavâla Village, Hoḷenarseepur Taluk, Hassan District. It is dated Śôbhakṛitu, Vaiśâkha, Śudha Pâḍya, Brihavâra. The Śaka year is not given. In spite of this, the Śôbhakṛitu of Kaṁpila's reign will be 1303 A.D. in the light of the following inscriptions.

The second‡ is from a stone pillar from the temple of Prasanna Virûpâksha on the Hêmakûṭa hill at Haṁpi. It is dated in the cyclic year Saumya and does not give any further details. This Saumya, as in the above inscription, will be 1309 A.D., as we shall presently see.

The third§ inscription is a veeragal from Hosakôṭe Village, Nagar Taluq, Shimoga District. This is dated Śaka 1242, Roudri, Chaitra Ba. 1, corresponding to 1320 A.D.

The fourth|| is from a place called “Wurregole” on the banks of the Tuṅgabhadrâ river, south of Ânegondi. This is dated Śaka 1304, Rudhirôdgâri. In this the cyclic year is correct while the Śaka figures are wrong by sixty years. This may be either the inscriber's or the copyist's error. If this inference is correct, the date will be 1322 A.D.

\* Thîrthahallî 23, *E. C.* Vol. VIII, Part II, p. 460.

† See Supplementary Vol. of *E. C.* for Hassan, p. 131.

‡ See *Local Records*, No. 40.

§ See *E. C.*, Vol. VIII, Nagar, 19.

|| See *Inss. of the Madras Presidency*, Vol. I, p. 301.

The fifth\* is from Kûḍli village, Hoḷalûr Hôbli, Shimoga District. The date for this is unfortunately missing; but as the contents refer to a battle at Siraguppa, between Kaṁpila and Chambeya Danâyak, a general of Ballâḷa III, the date should be somewhere about the first quarter of the fourteenth century A.D.

The sixth† is from Kaḍasûr Village, Tiptûr Taluq, Tumkur District. It is dated Śaka 1247, Krôdhana, Śrâvaṇa Su. 2, roughly corresponding to 1325 A.D.

For the present the above inscriptions are enough to establish that Kaṁpila ruled between 1303 and 1325 A.D. Further research, may, perhaps, extend the period of his reign a little both ways. Whatever be the length of his reign, once his historicity is admitted on inscriptional grounds, that of his son Kumâra Râmanâtha cannot be denied in the face of abundant literary evidences. Though the Portuguese chronicler does not mention the latter by name, his story of the heroic deed at Kuṁmaṭa requires no further corroboration. As all accounts agree with that of Nuniz, his Crynamata stands identified with Kumâra Râmana Kuṁmaṭa ‡ of to-day.

[In Articles II and III a detailed account of Kumâra Râma's exploits will be given as gathered from the works of the poets, Gaṅga and Nañjuṇḍa. In a succeeding article it will be shown that the future Vijayanagara empire was established on the foundations of Kaṁpila's kingdom and not on the vestiges of the Ballâḷa or Kâkatīya empires.]

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\* See *Mys. Arch. Rep.* for 1923, p. 119.

† See *E. C.*, Vol. XII, Tiptûr, 24.

‡ See *Survey of India Map*, No. 57 A. 23° E. Long. and 27° N. Lat.

## SOME POSES FROM AMARUKA.

BY K. KRISHNAMACHARYA, ESQ.

PROMPTED by a false sense of propriety, some nervous critics of Kalidasa at times venture to deny him the authorship of the eighth canto of *Kumara-sambhava*. They cannot reconcile themselves to the idea of sensual enjoyments of the newly wedded divine couple—enjoyments that smack of those of the human world. Their trouble arises from the fact that they unwittingly reverse the order of the poet's view-point. There the object of the poet is evidently to hold up the love of the divine couple as an exemplar for human love.

In his *Sakuntala*, he has transmuted the mere mundane love of his hero and heroine, first sprung up in the earthly *Asrama* of Kanva, into a celestial love on the tops of the Hemakuta, after a course of purificatory ordeals in their necessary separated existence. The ideal of love, according to Kalidasa, is beautifully expressed elsewhere, in the stanza :—

अनातुरोत्कण्ठितयोः प्रसिद्ध्यता  
समागमेनापि रतिर्नमां प्रति ।  
परस्परप्राप्ति निराशयोर्वरं  
शरीरनाशोपि समानुरागयोः ॥

(That union of lovers where one only longs is not to my taste; even an extinction of physical bodies is welcome, where both long ardently but cannot meet.)

And all his poems on love have a background of this spiritualized ideal.

One has therefore to go deep into the *Kavihridaya*, before one can light-heartedly dismiss some of the fine love-lyrics of Kalidasa as something flagrantly sensual or erotic, not worthy of the 'refined' ears of the modern critic, saturated with a perverted sense of propriety.

A similar mental equipment is needed, while approaching most of the love-lyrics of many a master-poet of India. A scientific and sympathetic approach of the subject cannot fail to reveal a wonderful world of beauty enshrined in some of the highest love-lyrics that have stood the test of time and come down to us.

Great writers on rhetoric have not hesitated to illumine their theories with choice pieces from these poems. They have shown us the way of approach—the only way an earnest seeker after beauty and joy is to follow. The love-lyrics are meant for mature and cultured minds to dwell and reflect upon (सहृदयहृदयाह्लादकाः).

It is not denied here that there are a good many pieces expounding the deeper aspects of *Sambhoga-Sringara*, either existing separately or merged in some sections of certain *Mahakavyas*, which are better left undiscussed. But the mere fact of their existence elsewhere cannot make us nervous in an enlightening study of other really fine pieces on love, enshrined in many a lyric of note.

The finest of such love-lyrics, acknowledged on all hands without reserve, are the century attributed to Amaruka. अमरुककवेरेकः श्लोकः प्रवन्धशतायते is the ungrudging tribute paid, and with approval applauded by one of the learned commentators thereon. We have no plausible reasons to doubt the tradition that Amaruka was the author of these pieces. Simply because they are, each of them, embodiments of certain isolated pictures of love in some aspect or other, a few latter-day critics have thrown out the suggestion that Amaruka might have been only a compiler from several sources. We cannot easily set aside the testimony of poets, rhetoricians, and commentators from about the ninth century onwards, that Amaruka was the real author thereof. Again, the internal evidence (the uniformity of the diction) does not warrant different authorships. In illustration, we may cite the existence of several didactic poems of single authors, embodying isolated phases of devotional emotion.

The high esteem in which the poem is held may be gathered from the fact that the authorship is, by some other tradition, foisted on Sri-Sankaracharya, that great exponent of the Advaitic branch of philosophy. In their justifiable eagerness to ascribe सर्वज्ञत्व to the great scholar, some of his admirers went so far as to ascribe this authorship to him, only to show to an admiring world, as they thought, that, though he entered *Sanyasa* directly from *Brahmacharya*, without an experience of *Garhastya* when alone one has opportunities of a personal taste of love in its varied aspects, the Acharya could yet produce a lyric piece, which is a marvel even for those whose one aim of life is sensual culture. (To maintain one piece of tradition, another—the *parakayapravesa*—had to be invented.)

Again, the interpolation in the original century of some spurious but easily detectable stanzas of many an anonymous poet of a far inferior order, only to pass them off for Amaruka's, is another proof, if proof be needed, of the popularity of the original.

Love united, love separated, love sundered by temporary waves of anger or jealousy due to a sense of injured pride or of wilful neglect, and love repentant, have all been subjected to critical analyses by one and all rhetoricians, revealing an admirable grasp of all the finer phases of sex-psychology. It is true that the rhetoricians have been influenced in their

analyses of theories by the illuminating pictures depicted by poets of eminence that preceded them; and it is equally true that the theories of rhetoricians guided the outpourings of the poets subsequent to them. Mutual influences of poets and rhetoricians, preserved unbroken for centuries together, have given us standards of judgment for types of poems embodying the several *rasas* or aspects thereof. Thus, love united (सम्मोह शृङ्गार) has been given a place, a little lower than any other phase of love (विप्रलम्भ शृङ्गार including the shades of विप्रयुक्त and अयुक्त).

With no apologies I have here ventured to place before my readers a few pieces from Amaruka depicting the finer phases of *Sringara*, and leave them to enjoy the pictures that the pieces may suggest in their minds, with a background of the masterly touches of the poet reflected in their sub-conscious layer. The stanzas are selected from different places of the poem but are here arranged in a graded order, expressive of how, when offended by an apprehended or suspected indiscretion of the lover, love displays its injured *amour propre* in a *Nayika*, according to her age and experience.

1. Here is a young *Nayika*, untaught in all the arts and artifices of a self-respecting love, trying in her own way to chastise her lover, a consummate adept in the art, with a warning that a repetition of his indiscretion would only invite on itself serious consequences.

क्रोधात्क्रोमललोलबाहुलतिका पाशेन बद्धा दृढं  
नीत्वा मोहनमन्दिरं दयितया खैरं सखीनां पुरः ।  
भूयोव्येवमिति स्वलन्मृदुगिरा संसृज्य दुश्चेष्टितं  
धन्यो हन्यतएव निन्दुतिपरः प्रेयान् रुदत्या हसन् ॥

(In an overpowering anger he is closely locked in her tender arms, taken to the chamber, and censured, with tears in her eyes, in an assembly of her maids-in-waiting, while all along he smiles away his guilt, and that in a tone of injured innocence.\*)

2. The lover comes conscious of his guilt, not exactly aware of the sort of welcome in store for him; but she is silently angry that he has not even the grace to accost her as usual. A few anxious moments on either side pass on, with sly looks of each on the other. On some pretext he laughs, and she ends in tears.

पश्यामो मयि किं प्रपद्यत इति स्थैर्यं मयाऽऽलम्बितं  
किं मां नालपतीत्ययं खलु शठः क्रोपस्तयाप्याश्रितः ।  
इत्यन्योन्य विलक्षदष्टिचतुरे तस्मिन्नावस्थान्तरे  
सव्याजं हसितं मया धृतिहरो बाष्पस्तु मुक्तस्तया ॥

\* Translations are not literal; they are more in the nature of paraphrase.

3. A higher stage is reached, when the lovers share the same bed, but turn their faces away. Each is, as it were, dying for a *rapprochement*; but a lingering self-respect stands in the way. Hours pass on and with them grows the anxiety for peace before it is too late. The faces turn, and eyes meet. In an immediate hearty embrace accompanied by an artless laughter, the anger melts away.

एकस्मिन् शयने पराङ्मुखतया वीतोत्तरं ताम्यतोः

अन्योन्यस्य हृदिस्थितेप्यनुनये संरक्षतोर्गौरवम् ।

दम्पत्योश्चानकैरपाङ्गवलनान्मिश्रीभवच्चक्षुषोः

भग्नो मानकलिः सहासरभसव्यावृत्तकण्ठग्रहम् ॥

4. A gradual external manifestation of the burning internal feelings of a wronged love cannot be better expressed than in what follows:—

दूरादुत्सुकमागते विवलितं, सम्भाषिणिस्फारितं,

संश्लिष्यत्यरुणं, गृहीतवसने कोपाञ्चितभ्रूलतम् ।

मानिन्याश्चरणानतिव्यतिकरे बाष्पाम्बुपूर्णं क्षणात्,

चक्षुर्जातमहो प्रपञ्चचतुरं जातागसि प्रेयसि ॥

(At a distance, her eyes grow anxious; on his approach they turn aside; on his addressing her, they grow wide; on his venture to embrace, they turn scarlet; and when he actually tugs at her garment, their brows are knit together. But when he kneels at her feet, as a last desperate attempt at reconciliation, oh! wonder of wonders, they are filled with tears.)

5. As a result of her lord's suspected wilful neglect the *Nayika* determines to have nothing more to do with him, and expresses it in so many words; but alas, her anxious looks cast on his path at the very moment betray her feeble determination.

स्फुटतु हृदयं कामः कामं करोतु तनुं तनुं

न सखि चपलप्रेम्णा कार्यं पुनर्दयितेन मे ।

इति सरभसं मानावेशादुदीर्येच तत्क्षणात्

रमणपदवी सारङ्गाक्ष्या सुहृसुहुरीक्षिता ॥

(‘Let my heart burst, and let love emaciate my frame; my friend, henceforth shall I have none of that fickle-hearted lover.’ Having said so in her surging anger, the gazelle-eyed one looked frequently on the path that might bring him back to her.)

6. Here is a determined attempt to pose anger, when next her lord comes to her; but at every stage of practice it is broken down by something or other quite beyond her powers. That is the source of bitter disappointment to the *Nayika* who is not inexperienced. She complains to her friend—

भ्रूमङ्गे रचितेपि दृष्टिरधिकं सौत्कण्ठसुद्रीक्षते  
 रुद्धायामपि वाचि सस्मितमिदं दग्धाननं जायते ।  
 कार्कश्यं गमितेपि चेतसि तनू रोमाञ्चमालम्बते  
 दृष्टे निर्वहणं भविष्यति कथं मानस्य तस्मिन् जने ॥

(The brows are knit, but the anxious eyes indulge in stealthy looks of love ; words are controlled, yet the treacherous face betrays the hidden smile ; somehow the heart is taught to keep hard, but the limbs refuse to suppress the thrill of joy. Alas, how can my anger fulfil itself in his presence ?)

Pitiable indeed is her plight.

7. Unlike in the previous case, success has here been achieved by the *Nayika* in her rehearsals of an angry pose. There is a ring of an enviable pride of achievement, as she recounts the several stages of practice. But in the end there is a tragic resignation as to the expected fruit of the experiment.

भ्रूमेदो गुणितश्चिरं, नयनयोरभ्यस्तमामीलनं,  
 रेदुं शिक्षितमादरेण हसितं, मौनेऽभियोगः कृतः ।  
 धैर्यं कर्तुमपि स्थिरीकृतमिदं चेतः कथञ्चिन्मया,  
 बद्धो मानपरिग्रहे परिकरः, सिद्धिस्तु दैवे स्थिता ॥

(For long, the brows have been taught to knit ; the eyes have been drilled to close ; the smile has been brought under control ; silence has been diligently practised ; somehow the heart has also been induced to be bold. I have thus far made every arrangement on my part, but the fruit of it all lies in the hands of God.)

She is unconsciously realizing the philosophical truth expounded in the *Bhagavat-Gita* : दैवं चैवात्र पञ्चमम् ॥

8. The rehearsals over, the regular trial commenced. The several stages were all successfully gone through. But the strain on the heart proved too much in the end, and the show of anger broke down like a veritable house of cards. That's the confession of the *Nayika*. Let us hear her :—

तद्वक्त्राभिसुखं सुखं विनमितं, दृष्टिः कृता पादयोः,  
 तस्यालाप कुतूहला कुलतरे श्रोत्रे निरुद्धे मया ।  
 पाणिभ्यां च तिरस्कृतस्सपुलकस्स्वेदोद्गमो गण्डयोः,  
 सख्यः, किं करवाणि यान्ति शतधा मत्कञ्चुली सन्धयः ॥

(My face in opposition to his was bent down ; the eyes were lowered to my feet ; the ears, eager to hear him, were closed ; the treacherous perspiration on my temples was shielded with my palms ; but my bosom swells and threatens to burst. What shall I do, my friends ?)

Who can be so hard-hearted as not to express a word of sympathy to her ?

9. Success has been achieved. The pose of anger went on, as had been planned; and the lover came, and was rejected. He turned back in bitter disappointment. But what has become of the love? Is she happy? Far from it. Equally bitter is now her remorse, and she rebukes her friends for having brought her to this predicament. She complains :--

निश्वासा वदनं दहन्ति, हृदयं निर्मूलमुन्मथ्यते,  
निद्रा नैति, न दृश्यते प्रियमुखं, नक्तं दिवं रयते ।  
अङ्गं शोषमुपैति, पादपतितः प्रेयांस्तदोपेक्षितः,  
सख्यः, कं गुणमाकलय्य दयिते मानं वयं कारिताः ॥

(Hot breath scorches my face; the heart is torn to shreds; sleep refuses to visit the eyes; my lord's face is not to be seen; day and night I am obliged to keep lamenting; the limbs are enfeebled; and my lord has been cruelly rejected. My friends, for what earthly benefit did you make me angry with my lord?)

We have no doubt she has been wiser after the event, and will forbear repeating the dangerous experiment, even at the risk of incurring her friends' displeasure.

10. Here is a *Nayika* who knows the how and why of what she should do, when next the offender should come to her. She needs no instructions at others' hands. Her injured pride dictates to her how to return the injury. When the lover stealthily comes and folds her in his arms from behind, she tears herself from him, and says, not in faltering accents,

अज्ञानेन पराङ्मुखीं परिभवादाश्लिष्य मां दुःखितां  
किं लब्धं शठ दुर्नयेन नयता सौभाग्यमेतां दशाम् ।  
पश्यैतद्वयिता कुचव्यतिकरोन्मृष्टाङ्गरागारुणं  
वक्षस्ते मम तैलपङ्कमलिनैर्वेणीपदैरङ्कितम् ॥

(What have you gained, fair sir, by thoughtlessly forcing me thus into your arms from behind, and that when in my grief I was innocent of your presence? Look here, sir, you have only spoilt this beautiful sandal paste of your sweet-heart transmitted on to your chest, by this oily impression of the unwanted plait of hair of my wretched self.)

The lover has got what he deserved, and we believe he has humour enough to appreciate himself even in this rejection.

11. The anger is there, deep-seated in her heart; but she does not make any fuss about it. Those days are gone, and now she is experienced enough not to exhibit her protestations. That is why



नान्तःप्रवे शमरुणद्विमुखी नचासीत्  
 आचष्ट रोषपरुषाणि न चाक्षराणि ।  
 सा केवलं सरलपक्षमभिरक्षिपातैः  
 कान्तं विलोकितवती जननिर्विशेषम् ॥

(She did not prevent his coming in, nor turn her face aside; nor even did she utter a word indicative of her temper. But she simply cast on him a look of indifference that spoke of no deference due to him as against others around her.)

No surer weapon could have hit the heart of the culprit.

12. Her past experiences are not let go without a lesson learnt from them. A mere inactive indifference may not bring round the offender. A counter-move at every stage of his approach would alone be effective. Let us hear what the lover himself says of her—

आशङ्क्य प्रणतिं पटान्तपिहितौ पादौ करोत्यादरात्,  
 व्याजेनागतमावृणोति हसितं, न स्पष्टमुद्वाक्षते ।  
 मय्यालापवति प्रतीपवचनं सख्या सहाभाषते,  
 तन्व्यास्तिष्ठतु निर्भरप्रणयिता, मानोपि रम्योदयः ॥

(Suspecting my prostration, she draws her garment close on her feet; on some pretext or other, she suppresses her surging smile; she does not look straight at me; and when I converse, she turns to her maid and speaks. Let alone her spontaneous love; even this sprouting of anger is quite enchanting.)

Yes, the lover is more than compensated for the loss of the usual mode of welcome.

13. A mere counter-move may or may not be effective. But if it be skilfully turned on to the lover and made to serve an ostensible purpose not likely to be misinterpreted, it would in reality achieve a deeper aim; and it would win her the distinction of keeping herself above board at the same time. Hence

एकत्रासनसङ्गतिः परिहृता प्रत्युद्गमाद्वरतः,  
 ताम्बूलाहरणच्छलेन रमसा श्लेषोपि संविघ्नितः ।  
 आलापोपि न मिश्रितः परिजनं व्यापारयन्त्यान्तिके  
 कान्तं प्रत्युपचारतश्चतुरया कोपः कृतार्थी कृतः ॥

(Respectfully meeting him half-way, she avoided sitting together in one seat; going out to fetch *pan supari*, she did not give room for a speedy embrace; directing her maids in the necessary arrangements, she did not take part in the conversation. Thus was her anger fulfilled in a skilful welcome extended to her lord.)

These few extracts, I trust, will leave a fair impression on the reader's mind as to how the poet has handled the finer and subtler shades of anger in love, and how his masterly touches are enlivening without bordering on the vulgar. If critics do not assume a nervous shyness on the mere mention of conjugal love, but with a sympathetic insight enter into the heart of the poet and see beauty as he himself sees, they will realize, with that immortal singer of the West, that

“A thing of beauty is a joy for ever.”

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# NEW IDENTIFICATION OF PONMALIGAI-T-TUNJINA DEVA WITH ADITYA II KARIKALA. (966-970 A.D.)

BY S. SOMA SUNDARA DESIKAR, ESQ.

THE object of the following article is to examine the validity or otherwise of the identification of Ponmāligai-t-tuñjina Dēva (the king who died at the Golden Mansion) with Sundra Chōḷa Parāntaka II and to suggest a new identification of that king with Āditya II Karikāla, son of Parāntaka II.

## Dr. Hultszch's Theory.

The term Ponmāligai-t-tuñjina Dēva was first brought to notice by Dr. Hultszch as occurring in an inscription\* in which Āḷwār Parāntakan Kuntavaiyar, sister of Rājarāja the Great and the daughter of Sundra Chōḷa Parāntaka II is said to have set up the statue of the king who died at the Golden Mansion. The learned Doctor took the expression of Ponmāligai-t-tuñjina Dēva to mean the 'god who was sleeping in the golden palace'.† But it could hardly mean that; Tunjia is euphemistic for dead and Dēva is an honorific for king. And hence, the reference here can only be to a king who died in the Golden Mansion, i.e., at Chidambaram and not to a god.‡

## Narayanaswami Ayyar's Theory.

M. Narayanaswami Ayyar of Triplicane published some Tirupati inscriptions§ in one of which mention is made of a gift of some jewels to the God at Tirupati in the sixteenth year of Rājarāja I by *Parāntaka Dēvi Amman* alias *Dēvi Ammār* who calls herself a daughter of a Chēra king and the queen of Ponmāligai-t-tuñjina Dēva. He identified Ponmāligai-t-tuñjina Dēva with Sundra Chōḷa Parāntaka II which was repeated by Gopinatha Rao in his *Chōḷa Vamśa Charitra Curukkam*.|| Narayanaswami Ayyar took the name Parāntaka Dēvi Amman to mean the queen of Parāntaka II,¶ and as she calls herself the wife of Ponmāligai-t-tuñjina Dēva, he concludes that this king was the same as Parāntaka II. If she were the wife of Parāntaka II,

\* .....ஸ்ரீ ராஜராஜதேவர் திருத்தமக்கையார் வல்லவரையர் வந்தியதேவர் மகா தேவியார் ஆழ்வார் பராந்தகன் குந்தவையார்.....பொன்மாளிகைத் தஞ்சின தேவராக எழுந்தருளிலித்த திருமேனிக்கும்.....No. 6, S.I.I., ii.

† *Ibid.*, p. 72, footnote 1.

‡ *Ibid.*, Addenda and Corrigenda, part 5.

§ திருமகள் போல பெருநிலச்சேல்வியும்.....கோராஜகேசரி பன்மர்க்கு யாண்டு 16 சேரமான் மகளார் பொன்மாளிகையில் தஞ்சினான் தேவியார் தேவி அம்மன்.....இப்பட்டம் இட்டார் பராந்தக தேவி அம்மன்

|| P. 12.

¶ இம்முதற்சாசனத்துக் கூறியிருக்கும் பொன்மாளிகைத் தஞ்சின தேவர் என்பது ராஜ ராஜன் தந்தையாகிய இரண்டாம் பராந்தகன் என்று இவன் மணவியின் பெயராகிய 'பராந்தக தேவியேன்' என்பதனாற் கொள்ளவேண்டும். *Sen Tamil*, iii, p. 105.

we wonder why she has not said so but call herself the wife of Ponnāligai-t-tuñjina Dēva in the very opening line of the same inscription. Further, the phrase Parāntaka Dēvi cannot mean in Tamil Parāntaka's wife,\* though Parāntakan Dēvi may be used in that sense; but even this use is not found in inscriptions. Thirdly, we know definitely that Sundra Chōḷa Parāntaka's queen Vānavan Madēvi who was also a daughter of a Chēramān, committed sati on the death of her husband† and therefore could not have lived in the sixteenth year of Rājārāja I (who succeeded this Parāntaka, nineteen years after he died), to make the donation above referred to. Therefore the identification of Ponnāligai-t-tuñjina Dēva with Parāntaka II is absurd.

### Venkayya's Theory.

Venkayya has brought to our notice another inscription‡ in which the name of Ponnāligai-t-tuñjina Dēva appears and has also identified him with Parāntaka II. Therein a Vēḷān Sundra Chōḷa is said to have donated in the third year (not in the ninth year as Venkayya says) of Ponnāligai-t-tuñjina Dēva a lamp in memory of his father Śīriya Vēḷār who died in a battle at Ceylon.§ We learn from an inscription|| of the seventh year of Parāntaka II that Śīriya Vēḷār was the General of this king and also his brother-in-law. In the fourteenth year of this king, the wife and daughter of the General above referred to, set up lamps in memory of their husband and father respectively.¶ So, we have to come to the conclusion that Śīriya Vēḷār must have died some time between the seventh and fourteenth year of Parāntaka II. If Ponnāligai-t-tuñjina Dēva is to be identified with Parāntaka II as suggested by Venkayya, then, he would be led to conclude that Śīriya Vēḷa after dying in the third year of Parāntaka II donated to temples in the seventh year§ of the same king. *Hence it is wrong to identify Ponnāligai-t-tuñjina Dēva with Parāntaka II.*

Recently three inscriptions found at Rājārājapuram now known as Dādāpuram® in the South Arcot District have been used to support

\* Parāntakan Dēvi, Parāntaka Dēvi are common names of members of the royal family. Cf. மழவரயன் மகளார் பரāந்தகன் தேவியார், wife of Gaṇḍarāditya, and the other two names occurring in this inscription itself.

† Tiruvalangadu Copper-plates, v. 65. S.I.I., vol. ii, p. 420.

‡ No. 116 of 96 (980 of S.I.I., v).

§ திருமகல்போலப் பெருநிலச் செல்வி ..... ராஜராஜதேவற்குயாண்டு 27-ஆவது வடகரை ராஜேந்திர சிம்ம வளநாட்டு நாங்கூர் நாட்டு நாங்கூர் திருவெண்காட தேவற்கு உடையார் பொன்மாணிகையில் துஞ்சின தேவர்க்குயாண்டு 3-வது ஈழத்துப் பட்ட கோடும்பாளூர் வேளான் சிறிய வேளான் மகன் வேளான் சுந்தரசோழன் வைத்த. S.I.I., v, No. 980.

|| Epigraphia Indica, xii, p. 126.

¶ S.I.I., iii, No. 122.

§ See introductory note to page No. 119, vol. iii, S.I.I., p. 255.

® Inscription Nos. 8, 10 and 17.

Venkayya's theory. Three temples were built by Srī Parāntakan Kundavai-p-Pirāṭṭiyār, daughter of Ponmāligai-t-tuṇjina Dēva.\* She has been wrongly identified with the sister of Rājarāja, who bore the distinctive epithet of Ālvār Parāntakan Kuntavaiyār and was the wife of Vandiya Dēvar, Lord of Vallam. Dādhāpuram refer to Srī Parāntakan Kundavai-p-Pirāṭṭiyār, without the epithet Ālvār used in the case of the sister of Rājarāja and also her husband. The ladies have made donations in one and the same year at two different places, the former at Tanjore† Rājarāja's elder sister, the latter at Dādhāpuram.‡ The former is specifically called Rājarāja's elder sister and the latter the daughter of the Rāja who died in the Golden Mansion. We shall show in the sequel that they are not one and the same person and that the former was the aunt and the latter the niece.

### New Identification.

Who then was the king referred as Ponmāligai-t-tuṇjina Dēva? From an inscription of Rājarāja found at Kaṭṭummannarkoil§ near Chidambaram, we learn that Karikāla who cut off the head of Vira Pāṇḍya (*i.e.*, Āditya II) was killed by some traitors,|| and the inscription embodies an order issued by the Rājakēsari Varman (who was Karikāla's successor) in the second year of his reign to confiscate the lands of the relatives of the men who committed the murderous assault on the king. We do not know at what place exactly Karikāla was attacked, but we may presume that he was able to reach the Golden hall of the temple of Chidambaram before he died. Nambi Āndar Nambi, the contemporary of both these kings, says in his Tiruttondar Tiruvantāti that an Āditya Chōḷa who conquered Ceylon, and who covered the temple of Chidambaram with gold, reached Sivaloka and was buried at the feet of the Lord.¶ Putting all these facts together, we can see that Ponmāligai-t-tuṇjina Dēva was the same person as Āditya II Karikāla. In that case, we would be justified in stating that Srī Parāntakan Kuntavai-p-Pirāṭṭiyār, daughter of Ponmāligai-t-tuṇjina Dēva referred to in the Dādhāpuram inscriptions is the niece of Ālvār Parāntakan Kuntavaiyār, sister of Rājarāja and Āditya, sons of the same father Parāntaka II.

\* Madras Epigraphist's Report for 1918-19.

† திருமகள் போல.....ராஜராஜதேவர்க்குமாண்டு 25-வது நாள் 360-இல் ஆடவல்லார் நம்பிராட்டியார் உமாபரமேசுவரியார்க்கு ஸ்ரீ ராஜராஜதேவர் திருத்தமக்கையார் வல்லவரையர் வந்திய தேவர் மகாதேவியார் கொடுத்த.....

‡ திருமகள் போல பெருநில.....ஸ்ரீ ராஜராஜதேவற்குமாண்டு 25-வது வெண்குன்றக் கோட்டத்து நல்லூர் நாட்டு நகரம் ராஜராஜபுரத்து உடையார் பொன்மாளிகையில் தஞ்சின தேவர் திருமகளார் ஸ்ரீ பராந்தகன் குந்தவைப்பிராட்டியார்.....

§ Madras Epigraphist's Collection for 1920, No. 577.

|| Madras Epigraphist's Report for 1920.

¶ Vide my article on Nambi Āndar Nambi in *Sen Tamil*, Vol. xxvi and stanzas 50, 65 and 80, *Tiruttondar Tiruvantāti*.

## APOSTLE THOMAS.

Was it a Mysore Maharaja that brought him to India?

By M. S. RAMASWAMI AIYAR, ESQ., B.A., M.R.A.S.

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AN ancient Western tradition connects Apostle Thomas with India. Our chief authority is the Syriac book of the 'Acts of Thomas'. Greek, Latin and Ethiopic versions also of the tradition exist. Stripped of its miraculous elements and very briefly told the story is this. King Gudnaphar sent from India his agent Habban to the West to procure a carpenter to build a palace for him. The agent went to Jerusalem, secured Apostle Thomas and returned to his sovereign. It is needless to tell in detail all that Thomas did in Gudnaphar's land. Let it suffice to say that after securing followers there and leaving them in charge of one Xanthipus, the saint passed on to another country whose king was called Mazdai. Here also he made converts and as a result of his activities, he suffered death in this king's realm. And so followed a follower of Jesus in the footsteps of his Master. Twenty centuries threw their dust over the tomb of Thomas in India and Gudnaphar and Mazdai and their kingdoms became forgotten tales.

For a long time learned men thought that the tradition connecting the Holy Man with India was an idle tale. In 1517 some Portuguese adventurers discovered the relics of the Church of San Thomé in South India and in 1834 an American, Masson by name, discovered in Afghanistan a coin bearing the name of Gudapharasa or Gondaphares on it. Since then, more of his coins have been recovered. These events have placed the tradition upon a historical basis. As a result of the discoveries in Afghanistan, historians believe that Gudapharasa mentioned on the coin was Gudnaphar of the Christian tradition; that Gudnaphar belonged to Afghanistan; that Mazdai was a North Indian monarch; that the saint did not visit South India and that the Church of San Thomé there is not the Apostle's tomb. Historians have not yet located Mazdai's kingdom in North India; they are still searching for it there. Men who hold such a view are mostly Protestants. Roman Catholics on the other hand believe that Big and Little Mounts near Saidapet were the scene of the Apostle's martyrdom and that the Church of San Thomé in Madras is his tomb. A fearful war is being waged over this question between the Protestants and the Roman Catholics and it is not yet ended. Learned historians search for spots hallowed by Thomas and humble devotees pray on them: thus matters stand. Most of the writers who doubt the truth of the tradition believe that the names of persons mentioned in it have no Indian ring in them. Since the scene

of the story is laid in India, the actors mentioned in it must be Indians and their names (however corrupted they may be) must represent Indian ones. It is not my intention to join in the fray with hot words. I leave it to learned men. Mine is an humbler task—that of questioning the more important persons of the tradition to tell their story so that I may, like some village singer, sing old ditties and think of the olden days.

Habban, according to the tradition, was an Indian. Name Habban of the Syriac book is Appan. Some of the other versions call him Abbanes. Abbanes is Appanna. The Syriac book does not say to which place Habban belonged. But Assemani's comments on a poem written by Jacob of Sarug on the palace that Thomas built in India enable us to infer that he belonged to Mahuza. Mahuza was not a locality of Mesopotamia as Assemani thinks. No writer who has handled the subject seems to have realized the importance of this name which contains the solution to the problem. What place was it? Since Habban was an Indian, Mahuza must be a locality of India. Vincent Smith says in his *Oxford History of India*, "My personal impression formed after much examination of the evidence, is that the story of the martyrdom in South India is the better supported of the two versions of the saint's death." Now the saint, according to the tradition, visited Gudnaphar's and Mazdai's kingdoms. He landed in the first one, passed on to the second and was killed in the latter. If the version of martyrdom in South India is the better supported one, the region in which he was killed must be South India. Since he passed to the second kingdom from the first, the two kingdoms must have been adjacent ones. The kingdom in which he landed, therefore, must also have been in South India. Since the kingdom in which Thomas landed was the one from which Habban was originally sent, Mahuza must be looked for in South India. The name gives the clue to the locality. In Tamil literature a region is called Erumai Nadu (buffalo land). The Sanskrit word for Tamil Erumai is Mahisha and it is from this word that the name Mysore comes. Mysore means Town of Mahisha (*Mahisha*=buffalo and *Uru*=town). Since our reasoning suggested the searching of Mahuza in South India, Mahuza is Mysore. Appan or Appanna that brought the Apostle to India was a Mysorean.

The Syriac book calls Habban's master Gudnaphar. Greek and Latin versions name him, on the other hand, Gondophoros and Gundaforus. One of the Ethiopic versions calls him simply 'King of Gona' without mentioning his name. What names could these be and how could they be reconciled? God's names are taken in India as personal names. God Siva is a great dancer and he is called for that reason in Tamil *Kuthan*. Appa is frequently suffixed to personal names in South India. Gudnaphar is Kuthan-appar, *i.e.*,

Kuthappar. Kuthappar is the Tamil form of the Sanskrit name 'Nataraja' (Dancing King). Siva's son God Subrahmaniam is a great warrior and he is known on that account in Sanskrit as Skanda. In Tamil this name becomes Kanda. Gondophoros and Gundaforus are the Tamil Kandappa-arasa (King Kandappa). It will thus be seen that the names of the Syriac and European versions are not metathetical forms of one and the same name as many writers imagine but different ones altogether. Ancient Indian kings frequently bore more than one name at the same time. Names Kuthappar and Kandappar must have been borne by Habban's master as aliases for reasons that will be explained later on.

Habban was a Mysorean. It is natural to expect a king to send on an errand a man of his own country. So Gudnaphar and Habban must have belonged to the same locality. Now there is an important piece of evidence to support such a conclusion. One of the Ethiopic versions (it will be remembered) calls Habban's master 'King of Gona'. Gona in Kanarese (Kōna) means precisely what Sanskrit Mahisha signifies—buffalo. King of Gona means King of Mahisha—King of Mysore. So Gudnaphar like Habban belonged to Mysore.

In the Latin versions Gudnaphar's capital is called Elioforum, Hyroforum, Yroforum, Inforum and Hienoforum. Lewis Rice in his *Mysore and Coorg* says that the Aluvas were an ancient family of rulers who had their land situated chiefly in South Kanara. Aluva means ruler. Aluvas must be the same as the later Arasus (Urs or kings) of Mysore. Elioforum is Aluvapuram, Hyroforum and Yroforum are Veerapuram, Inforum is Inapuram, and Hienoforum is Ayanpuram. The last two in Tamil mean king's town. Future excavations will perhaps show whether Ayanur, north-west of Shimoga, was Ayanpuram, the capital of Kuthappar. Sir W. Hunter in his *Indian Empire* writes "The family names of a forest tribe in (North) Kanara, now Hindus, bear witness to a time when they were Christians; and there were probably other similar reversions." In the light of my discoveries these conversions probably go back to the time of Kuthappar. The finding of the coins of Tiberius and Caligula at Yesvantpur near Bangalore in 1892 lends additional support to my discoveries, for these emperors were contemporaries of the Apostle.

The Maharaja of Aluvapuram bore two names. Which of these was his personal name and why had he a second one? The coins discovered in Afghanistan decide the question. The Syriac book tells us that the king's name was Kuthappar. Two of the names found on the coins are Gudapharasa and Gudaphara. They are the Tamil Kuthappa-arasa (King Kuthappa) and Kuthappar and they tally with the name found in the Syriac text. Archæologists aver that these coins belong to Apostle Thomas'



time (First Century A.D). The coins must have belonged to Gudnaphar. If Gudnaphar was king of Mysore, how could his coins be found in Afghanistan, it might be asked. The idea that north has ever dominated south is a modern shibboleth. Did not the southern Cæsars conquer northern Gaul and Britain? Did not the Saracens and the Turks advance from Asia into Europe? The existence of Dravidian Brahui in Beluchistan clearly proves the advance of Dravidians so far. In addition to it I find the influence of Tamil on the Pushtu language of Afghanistan higher up north. Nannwautee in Pushtu, for instance, means I have come: and it is the Tamil 'Nan vanden'. These facts show that southern Dekkan dominated in some way northern Beluchistan and Afghanistan in days of yore. When facts were so, it would not have been difficult for a powerful ruler of Mysore with South Kanara and the Arabian seaboard under his control and with the Arabian Sea and the river Indus available for use to have been lord of Beluchistan and Afghanistan. That some Mysore king had advanced north in ancient days is apparent from Edward Thornton mentioning in his *Gazetteer of the Countries adjacent to India* a town by the very name of "Myesur" in Beluchistan. Though we do not know when and by whom that name was transported there, we may be sure of one thing. Savants agree that the coins discovered in Afghanistan were those of Gudnaphar. Arguments adduced by me show that Gudnaphar was king of Mysore. The discovery of Gudnaphar's coins in Afghanistan proves (when read with all the facts mentioned above) that that country was actually under the control of Mysore in his time. How does this fact help us to explain the two names that he bore?

"That which is one the wise call by many names" sang an old inspired singer. Names Kuthappar and Kandappar represent the pleasure-loving and martial aspects of God. Parents give what name they like to their children; giving of names to persons is regulated by the customs and practices of a country. There is nothing derogatory in parents giving the name "Dancer" to a child, as it is a name of God. But if that same name is bestowed on a man by persons other than parents, it would convey a bad meaning. Subjects and courtly poets proclaim rather the martial than the pleasure-loving qualities of their lord. The discovery of Kuthappar's coins far away from home points him out to be a great warrior. For all these reasons Kuthappar must have been the personal name of the king given him by his parents at his birth and Kandappar the surname of valour given him by his panegyrists later on. The former name has survived in the Syriac text and the latter one in Greek and Latin versions. The coins bear both names. The honour of bringing to India an Apostle that worked with Jesus belongs to an ancient Mysore Maharaja.

Kuthappar's name occurs nowhere else except in Thomas' tradition. Who was this king whom Indian history has forgotten but Christian memory remembers? Early South Indian history is still an unravelled tale. Buddhistic archæology recovered the lost name and splendour of Asoka. Nature, which has surprised man so often, may surprise him once again and time may yet discover Kuthan and his capital. The brother of the king is called Gad. Kathan is a name still current in South India. Kathan was the name of King Kuthan's brother. And Xanthipus the deacon in whose care Thomas left his followers when he went to Mazdai's realm is, no doubt, Santhappa (Man of Peace).

Let us quit Mysore and pass on with the Apostle to Mazdai's realm. Prof. Sylvain Levi, of Paris equates the name Mazdai to Vasudeva and seeks for his kingdom in North India. Dr. Medlycott equates the name to Mahadeva. The reason for searching North India is this. Since Gudnaphar had been fixed in Afghanistan as a non-Indian king owing to the discovery of his coins there, Mazdai's realm is sought for in North India as it is adjacent to Afghanistan. No tradition at any time during all these twenty centuries has ever pointed to North India as the region of the Apostle's martyrdom. Tradition on the other hand always points to Big and Little Mounts and the Church of San Thomé as the scene of Thomas' martyrdom and as the spot of his tomb in Mazdai's realm. Since these places are in Madras, Mazdai's realm must have been where that city now is.

Mazdai like Gudnaphar was an Indian. His name too must be a Hindu one. In a paper on "A Hindu Tradition on St. Thomas" read before the Indian Historical Records Commission of 1924, Prof. P. J. Thomas of the Colombo University states that according to this east coast Hindu tradition Mazdai was of the fisherman caste. In this fact lies the clue to the understanding of the name. Fish is called in Sanskrit Matsya and in Tamil Massa. The Matsyas (fisher-folk) were a famous people in India in ancient times. The *Markandeya Purana* locates a section of them in eastern India and Madras is in that part of the country. Since Mazdai was of the fisherman caste, Mazdai is not Vasudeva or Mahadeva but Massa-deva (fisherman king). Tertia, Mazdai's queen, and Visan, their son, are Tara-devi and Visayan (Vijayan) respectively. Visan's wife, the crown princess Manashar, is Minakshiaru. Was she a Telugu princess as *varu* is suffixed to her name? Karish the king's kinsman is Girisa. Mygdonia, his wife, must have been a Magadha lady-Magadanni. And Sifur, Mazdai's general, is no doubt Sivappar.

Western or westernized books are our chief source at present for the story. But the scene of the story was South India. So facts and names of persons and places must have been carried from South India to the West for

writing that story in Edessa, Constantinople and Rome. Edessa was in Asia and Constantinople and Rome are in Europe. But though Edessa was nearer India than the two other cities, still as Hellenization of the Syriac Church of Edessa had commenced long before its Bishop Rabbula completed it, the Indian names in the Syriac book also must have got their foreign tone in this process of Hellenization. In any case, however corrupted the names might be, it is not correct to say that they have no Indian ring in them. Indian versions of 'Thomas' story are gradually being recovered by historians. A thorough search would bring to light a larger number of Hindu versions. But "odium theologicum" prevents the proper investigation of the subject. From the Hindu tradition referred to before, we learn that a hermit, Baradwajha by name, befriended Thomas and tried to protect him when he was persecuted. Thomas is said to have taken refuge on the Little Mount near the Marmalong bridge. A man seeks refuge in friendly quarters and Indian hermitages were by the side of lakes or rivers. Was the cave in the Little Mount on the banks of the Adyar river Baradwajha's hermitage?

From Jerusalem along the Arabian Sea through South Kanara and Mysore over mountain, river and plain we have followed the saint by way of Big and Little Mounts to the sea-king's home at Madras on the shore of the Bay of Bengal. Mazdai is Massa-deva. It could not be the name of the east coast king that put the Holy Man to death, for it is a dynasty appellation like Pandya-deva or Chola-deva. What could have been his name? The previously mentioned Hindu tradition calls him Kandappa-arasa (King Kandappa). Kandan or Kandappa is a common name on the east coast of Madras. Massa-deva had no surname of valour like Kuthappar. The Hindu tradition indicates that the surname that the Mysore king won by his prowess, his Madras contemporary got at his birth. Did Thomas labour inside or outside India, in its southern or northern half? Appanna, Kuthappar, Santhappa, Massa-deva, Visayan and Sivappar point to South India as the scene of the Apostle's activities. Whatever was the personal name of the saint's persecutor, there can be no doubt that it was to Kuthappar's kingdom on the west coast that Thomas first came and that it was in Massa-deva's realm on the east coast of South India that he won his crown of martyrdom. Let learned historians search, but humble devotees will pray: for human memory is not a book out of which pages can be torn. Where lies hid in Madras Baradwajha's hermitage, where Thomas found friendship and where lies the prison in which Massa-deva threw him in anger? Nature may surprise man once again with her eternal surprises and blowing wind or falling rain may uncover for us some day that hermitage and that dungeon.

## SVETASVATAROPANISHAD.

English Metrical Translation with Explanatory Notes.

BY D. VENKATRAMIAH, ESQ., B.A., L.T.

(Continued from Vol. XIX, No. 4.)

### THIRD DISCOURSE.

1. And He the Lord, the Absolute with His snare  
Of nescience rules with mighty powers and rules  
The many myriad world with mighty powers ;  
He's alone at birth and dissolution too ;  
They are immortal, they that know Him thus.

जालवान्-मायावी (जाल--snare)—so called because it is the maya-net that holds the jiva within its folds.

‘ ईशते ’—Vedic sing. for ईष्टे, rules.

ईशनीभिः—माया तच्छक्तिभिः—Isvara governs the world with his maya-sakti.

उद्भवे-सर्वस्योत्पत्तौ कारणत्वेन स्थितः—at the beginning of creation, as the prime cause, Isvara alone remains.

संभवे-लस्योत्पत्तौ—at the time of the dissolution of the universe (प्रलय).

2. He is alone the mighty Rudra, nev'r  
A second doth exist ; He rules these worlds  
With his prowess great ; He dwells in all the men ;  
Creating all this vasty universe  
His protection gives and at the end destroys.

रुद्रः—रु = दुःखं, द्रावयति = नाशयति—he who dispels sorrow. Rudra is taken to mean Isvara.

न द्वितीयाय तस्थुः—व्यावहारिकाः पदार्थाः द्वितीय भावाय स्थातुं न शक्ताः—the empirical world though existing cannot count as a second entity with reference to the all comprehensive Isvara.

There are two other readings, तस्थे, तस्थौ, both of which are singular in form and have therefore to be construed with एकः. Since He is the sole Being, Rudra does not require a second.

संचुकोप—showed his anger. संचुकोच is another reading. उपसंहृतवान्—drew it unto himself, destroyed it.

संसृज्य—सम्यगुत्पाद्य—having created.

विश्वा भुवनानि—विश्वानि भुवनानि—all the fourteen worlds.

Having by the power of maya created the universe, He withdraws it at the end of time (pralaya).

3. Behold His eye is everywhere and His face  
Is everywhere, His arms are everywhere,  
Aye His feet are everywhere and He  
To man doth join arms, doth join feet,  
Creating Earth and Heaven, the One, the Divine.

As Virat, Isvara symbolises the whole creation and is the Universal Purusha. All the senses and the sense-organs may, therefore, be described as belonging to this Superman.

विश्वतश्चक्षुः—सर्वतो नेत्रः—all-seeing.

विश्वतस्पात्—सर्वतश्चरणः—all-compassing.

सं—the particle should go with धमति.

संघमति—संयोजयति—forges, attaches; *lit.* to make noise.

पतत्रैः (संघमति)—पतनसाधनैः पादैः संयोजयति—joins feet which enable creatures to move.

‘पतत्रैः’ also means ‘with wings’ in which case the sense would be—‘He joins wings to birds’.

द्यावाभूमी—Heaven and Earth, *i.e.* the whole universe.

संजनयन्—having created.

Isvara creates the universe in order that the jivas may partake of the fruits of their past acts and thus fulfil their destiny.

The second half of the verse is somewhat differently explained by Sayana. (*Vide Vaj. Samh.*

XVIII.)

बाहुभ्यां . . . —बाहुस्थानीयाभ्यां, धर्माधर्माभ्यां, निमित्तकारणाभ्यां, जगत्सर्वं स्वाधीनं करोति ;  
तथा पतत्रैः, पतनशीलैः, अनिलैः पद्मभूतैः, उपादानकारणैः जगत्स्वाधीनं करोति ; *i.e.*,  
The Lord brings under His control the whole of the universe with the aid of  
man's *dharma* and *adharma* which stand for His arms and serve as the instru-  
mental cause and the five impermanent (पतनशीलैः, अनिलैः) elements which serve  
as the instrumental cause.

4. He in whom the Gods their origin find  
And their release too, the transcendent Lord,  
Rudra, the seer great, created He  
Hiranyagarbha, what time the world began ;  
May He on us wisdom and good bestow.

This mantra removes the doubt that Isvara is the creator of inanimate objects only and not of sentient beings.

देवानां प्रभवः—if we retrace the steps by which Agni and other Gods have derived  
their source, we light upon Isvara, the first cause ; it is in Him they lose their  
being. Hence प्रभवः—लयस्थानं—the seat of dissolution.

उद्भवः—उत्पत्तिस्थानं—the seat of origin.

विश्वान्धिपः—‘विश्वाधिकः’ is another reading ; निरतिशयानन्दस्वभावः—God who is tran-  
scendent love ; or it may be taken as विश्वस्मात् अधिकः—He who transcends the  
universe.

बुद्ध्या—अपवर्गहेतुभूतया—with wisdom leading to liberation.

शुभया—ब्रह्मविषयिण्या—with the right knowledge pertaining to the Brahman.

शुभया बुद्ध्या—सम्यग्ज्ञानेन—with perfect wisdom.

5. O Rudra ! with Thy aspect beneficent  
And terrorless, dispelling all the sins,  
With that thy holy form, shine then, O Lord,  
Thou, that conferest bliss on Gods and men.

या—प्रसिद्धा—renowned, described at length in the scriptures.

शिवा—auspicious.

अघोरा—not striking terror ; प्रसन्ना—संसारतापोपशमनरूपा—a countenance that quells the fitful fever of life.

अपापकाशिनी—(Thy form) which burns all sins.

नः—साधनचतुष्टयसंपन्नान्—us ; (who are fit to receive thy grace having received the four-fold discipline.)

‘तनुवा’—Ved. for तन्वा—with the body.

शंतमया—सुखतमया, अद्वितीयानन्दस्वरूपया—with thy unique beneficent aspect.

गिरिशन्त—voc. sing. of गिरिशन्तः ; गिरि शब्दः वेदान्ते ब्रह्मेन्द्रादीनां सर्वेषां सुखदातृत्वेन प्रसिद्धः, in the Vedānta the word ‘giri’ is used to mean Isvara who confers happiness on Gods and human beings. The phrase may also be taken to signify Rudra ; गिरौ—पर्वते, कैलासे स्थितः ; शं—सुखं, तनोति—one who residing in Kailasa grants happiness. The first interpretation suits the context better.

अभिचाकशीहि—अभि, अभिमुख्येन, प्रत्यक्त्वेन प्रकाशस्व—O God, shine there in Thy glory in our hearts.

For other interpretations of ‘girisanta’ see Sayana’s commentary, *Vaj. Samh.* XVII. 2.

6. Thy hand a mighty arrow wields, O Lord  
Of bliss, make Thou that shaft innocuous,  
O fount of grace, to us who are mortals doomed  
And let no harm befall on man or world.

The devotee pours out his heart in praise of the Lord. Rudra holding the world-destroying arrow is implored to stay his hand and save mankind from suffering.

I give below Sayana’s interpretation of the verse :—

हे गिरिशन्त—O Lord ; त्वं यां इषुं हस्ते विभर्षि (धारयसि)—what arrow thou holdest in thy hand ?

किं कर्तुं ?—for what purpose ?

अस्त्वे—असितुं, शत्रून् क्षेप्तुं (विनाशयितुं)—for destroying enemies.

हे गिरित्र—गिरौ, कैलासे, स्थितः, भूतानि त्रायते, इति गिरित्रः—O Lord that dwellest on Mount Kailasa protecting all beings.

तां इषुं—that arrow (obj. sing.).

शिवांकुरु—कल्याणकरो कुरु—render auspicious, i.e., harmless.

किंच—and.

पुरुषं—पुत्रपौत्रादिकं ; जगत—जगमं, अन्यदपि गवाश्वादिकं ; मा हिंसी—मा वर्धाः—we pray that thou mayest not injure our sons and relatives as also our cattle and horses.

7. He is beyond the universe, He is  
 Beyond the Brahman great, of mighty reach,  
 Imbuing bodies of whatsoever shape  
 With His hidden seat in beings all, alone,  
 Secondless, enveloping all the worlds,  
 The Ruler great, cognising whom, the Lord,  
 As their very self they gain immortal bliss.

ततः परं—i. जगतः परं—since He is the prime cause He is beyond the universe.

ii. He is above Virat, the cosmic being, the aggregate gross body.

iii. after the divine grace is won.

ब्रह्म परं—हिरण्यगर्भात्परं—above Hiranyagarbha, the *Sutratman*, the aggregate subtle body.

बृहन्तं—He is vast since He is unconditioned by time, space or indeed by any entity other than Himself.

यथा निकायं—यथा शरीरं—according to the size and shape of the body.

सर्वभूतेषु गूढम्—hidden in all beings ; just as fire inheres in wood whether straight or crooked, the *atman* informs all bodies, whatever their size—from elephants down to ants.

परिवेष्टितारं—i. embracing all.

ii. रक्षकत्वाद्दुर्गस्थानीयं—because He is the protector of all, He is like a citadel.

This verse teaches that God is not only immanent but He is also transcendent.

8. Verily I know that Being, that Person great  
 Who transcends all, whose lustre is the lustre of the sun  
 Who is afar from nescience dark and Him  
 Alone perceiving one doth conquer death ;  
 None other path there is for the supreme goal.

It is *avidya* that hides the Reality and is the root-cause of the world of appearance and it is only by shaking off this nescience that one can escape from the ceaseless current of *samsara*. Other means such as large gifts, pilgrimages to holy places, etc., are intended only for the discipline of the mind leading on to self-knowledge which is the one solvent of the primal nescience.

वेद-जानामि, अहं मन्त्रद्रष्टा—I, the seer have understood.

पुरुषं—the Lord, the dweller in the body.

महान्तं—सर्वगुणैरधिकं—matchless by the excellence of his qualities (Sayana).

आदित्यवर्णं—स्वयंप्रकाशचिन्मात्ररूपं—self-luminous consciousness, resplendent like the sun.

Cp. सर्वस्य धातारमचिन्त्यरूपं ।

आदित्यवर्णं तमसः परस्तात् ॥ —*Bhag.*, VIII. 9.

तमसः परस्तात् (अवस्थितं)—as the Brahman is of the nature of light and knowledge, it cannot have any real association with *avidya* which is of the essence of darkness.

अतिमृत्युमेति—अज्ञानलक्षणं मृत्युं अत्येति—he overcomes the demon of darkness.

The reading as found in *Tait. Ar.* III. 13-1, is—तमेव विद्यानमृत इह भवति.

नान्यःपन्था विद्यते अयनाय—अयनाय, परमपदप्राप्तये—for attaining the highest (seat) goal there is no other path (than *jñana*).

The latter half of the verse is repeated in VI. 15.

9. And none exalted is above the Lord  
Aye none apart from Him exists ; than Him  
A tinier being ne'er can be, nor larger ;  
Unmoved and firm like a tree He stands all in  
His luminous self, and all alone He is  
And all this world is filled by Him, the Lord.

परं—उत्कृष्टं—superior.

अणीयः—subtler, smaller.

ज्यायः—that which is bigger.

*Cp.* अणोरणीयान् महतो महीयान् । *Katha.*, I. 2-20.

उत्कृष्टं अपकृष्टं वा किञ्चिन्नासि द्वितीयाभावात्—there is nothing superior or inferior to *atman* since a second entity is non-existent.

स्तब्धः—दृढासनः—having a firm seat ; hence, unmoved, like a tree that stands motionless in a place not exposed to winds.

दिवि—i. द्योतनात्मनि, स्वे महिम्नि—in his own splendour.

ii. बुद्धौ—because it is in the mind that the knowledge of identity arises.

iii. आदित्यमण्डले—in the orb of the sun.

iv. स्वर्गे—in the region of Svarga.

The first meaning seems preferable.

इदं सर्वं पूर्णं—नैरन्तर्येण व्याप्तं—all this, the visible universe, is pervaded by the all-embracing Lord.

10. Far above the world He's, devoid of form,  
He's free from ills and comprehending Him  
The wise attain the immortal state, as those  
That swerve from Him, indeed in misery end.

ततः—i. जगतः—separated from the world.

ii. हिरण्यगर्भात्—separated from Hiranyagarbha.

अरूपं—रूप or form implies separateness, but since Brahman is परिपूर्ण, all-comprehensive, He has no form.

इतरे—एकत्वज्ञानमनाश्रित्य साधनान्तराण्यवलम्ब्य ये स्थिताः—those who forsaking the path of the knowledge of unity pursue other means.

दुःखमेवापि यन्ति—end in sorrow only.

11. All faces, all heads, all necks are His,  
He dwells within the core of all the beings,  
He embraces all, the Lord of bliss and might  
Omnipresent and blessed is the Lord.



Since Isvara having created by His maya-sakti all the things of the universe entered into them, He is identical with jiva. Hence all faces, heads, necks and by implication all other organs are Isvara's; *cp.* तत्सृष्ट्वा तदेवानुप्राविशत्—having created it (the world), it alone he entered.

*Tait.*, II. 6.

भगवान्—the Lord of might. More fully it is explained in the following passage :—

ऐश्वर्यस्य समग्रस्य धर्मस्य यशसः श्रियः ।

ज्ञानवैराग्ययोश्चैव षण्णां भग इतीरणा ॥

Vast power, righteousness, fame, wealth, knowledge, renunciation—these constitute *bhaga*.

शिवः—मङ्गलः—auspiciousness. The word need not be taken in the sense of Siva of the Trinity.

12. Of infinite bliss, He's sovereign over the worlds ;  
The Lord propels the inward sense of man  
Towards the purest state serene ; and He  
Is Ruler, Light Supreme, and Eternal God.

सुनिर्मलामिमां प्राप्तिं—should be construed with some such word as 'प्रति' understood ; 'शान्ति' is another reading for 'प्राप्ति'. 'प्राप्ति'—परमपदप्राप्ति—the attainment of the highest state. Max Muller takes the word to mean one of the Vibhutis of Yoga and translates the passage thus :—He possesses that purest power of reaching everything. This does not seem to fit in with the context.

The sense of the passage is that Isvara gives the right stimulus to the seeker's heart and puts him on the way to knowledge.

13. Of the size of a thumb is the Lord—the inner Self,  
For aye within the hearts of men He dwells.  
Within the heart, desires, controlled and all  
Absorbed in Him can one cognise the Lord ;  
Immortal they that comprehend this Being.

For the ideas contained in this mantra, *cp.* II. 1-12 and 13, II. 3-17 and II. 3-9 of *Katha*.

हृदा—हृदयस्थेन मनसा—by the intellect which is within the heart. This is an old psychological notion.

'मन्वीशः'—another reading is मनीषा ; controlling desire, *i.e.*, steady. Explained also as ज्ञानशः, the lord of knowledge.

अभिव्यक्तः—अभिप्रकाशितः—well revealed.

14. Of thousand heads is the Lord, of thousand eyes,  
Of thousand feet and He encompassing  
The worlds transcends them all by inches ten.

The immanence and transcendence of God are both emphasised. Isvara not only fills the entire universe but He transcends it. If the transcendent nature of the Supreme is not brought out, it would lead to pantheism.

दशांगुलं—by ten fingers' breadth, used for 'अनन्त' 'अपारं' *i.e.*, endless.

अत्यतिष्ठदशांगुलं—दशांगुलपरिमितं देशं अतिक्रम्य स्थितः ; दशांगुलमित्युपलक्षणं—ब्रह्मांडा-

द्वहिरपि सर्वतो व्याप्यावस्थितः—Sayana Bhashya, *Tait. Ar.*, III prapataka, 12th anuvaka, 1st panchasati.

दशांगुलं—'to the extent of ten inches', is not to be taken literally. It suggests that the Supreme not only interpenetrates the whole universe but extends beyond it and is endless.

The other meanings given, though not quite appropriate, are :—

- i. Ten inches above the navel, because God dwells within the heart which is ten inches above the navel.
- ii. Hiranyagarbha standing for five subtle and five gross elements.
- iii. Maya, five elements and four egos.
- iv. Ten senses.
- v. Ten quarters.

This mantra occurs in *Rig-Veda*, X, 90, 1, etc.

15. And Isvara is all that we perceive  
All that was and all that is to be  
Aye, He of immortality is the Lord,  
Of everything that from Maya springs and grows.

Though Isvara is transcendent, He is not far and away from the world : He is all-pervading.

इदं—The world of perception ; the world superimposed on the Absolute.

यद्भूतं यच्च भव्यं—भूत भावि वर्तमानात्मकत्वात् स्वप्नप्रपञ्चवत् अविद्यात्मकं—because it suffers change conditioned by time-variations, *viz.*, past, present and future, the world is but the creation of *avidya* and is impermanent like the dream-world.

Isvara, however, who is the substratum (अधिष्ठान) is alone real.

उत—and ; अमृतत्वस्य—of immortality.

ईशानः—Isvara is the Lord of *moksha*.

यदन्नेनातिरोहति—

- i. यत्-यद्दृश्यजातं—the world of perception.

अन्नेन ; अद्यते—बाध्यते सम्यग्ज्ञानेन, इत्यन्नं, *i.e.*, Maya ; तेन—by Maya.

अति-अतीत्य, वस्तुस्वभावं अतिलङ्घ्य अद्वितीयवस्तु विपरीतरूपेण—stepping beyond its real self and appearing as different from the Absolute.

रोहति-जायते—appears, is born. Because He is the ground of this vast and varied spectacle of life, Isvara is the ruler of the universe.

- ii. Isvara who by his magic power manifests himself in creation is the bestower of *moksha*.

- iii. अन्नेन-अतिरोहति—grows much by food.

"Sayana in his commentary on the *Rig-Veda* and the *Taittiriya Aranyaka* gives another explanation, *viz.*, he is also the lord of all the immortals, *i.e.*, the Gods, because they grow to their exceeding state by means of food, or for the sake of food." —Max Muller.

This interpretation, however, does not appear to follow closely Sayana's comment which is as follows :—

यद्भूतमतीतं जगत्, यच्च भव्यं-भविष्यजगत् ; यदपि इदं वर्तमानं जगत् ; तत्सर्वं पुरुष एव ; यथास्मिन्कल्पे वर्तमानाः प्राणिदेहाः सर्वेऽपि विराट्पुरुषस्य अवयवाः ; तथैव अतीत आगामिनोरपि कल्पयोर्द्विष्टव्यं ; उत-अपिच ; अमृतत्वस्य-देवत्वस्य, अयं, ईशानः-स्वामी, यद्यस्मात्कारणात् अन्नेन-प्राणिनां भोग्येन अन्नेन, निमित्ती-भूतेन, अतिरोहति-स्वकीयकारणावस्थां अतिक्रम्य परिदृश्यमानां जगदवस्थां

प्राप्नोति ; तस्मात् प्राणिनां कर्मफलभोगाय जगदवस्था स्वीकारात् नेदं तस्य वस्तुत्व-  
मित्यर्थः ॥

All the three temporal states of the world—the past, the future and the present—are only manifestations of Isvara. They are as it were the limbs of the Universal Purusha, the Virat. Moreover, Isvara is the dispenser of *moksha* and because He steps across His causal nature and manifests Himself as the world of experience all for enabling man to reap the fruit of his *karma*, it is not to be supposed that the phenomena constitute His real essence.

iv. The commentator Narayana construes the phrase thus :—

यत्-अमृतत्वं अन्येन (for अज्ञेन), इतरेण सह विवक्षायां अतिरोहति-अतिशयेन  
ऊर्ध्वं भवति—the *moksha* that He gives is superior to other kinds of bliss  
such as that of *svarga*.

16. And Isvara's hands and feet are everywhere  
And everywhere His eye, His head and face  
And everywhere His ear and in the world  
All-embracing, all-encompassing He dwells.

Because Nature and all her work depend upon God for their manifestation, He may be said to dwell gathering all in His sweep.

17. Who's manifest in all the traits of sense  
And yet is free from senses all, who's lord  
Of all, ordainer great and refuge  
Universal, whose ministry is for all.

सर्वेन्द्रियगुणाभासं—reflecting the properties of all the senses, आभासः—light.

सर्वेन्द्रियविवर्जितं—unaffected by sense-impulsions and activities.

Isvara while He enables all the sensory and mental operations to take place is Himself detached from them ; *cp.* “ ध्यायतीव, लेलायतीव. ”

‘बृहत्’ is another reading for ‘सुहृत्’, it may be taken as attributive to शरणं, meaning ‘mighty refuge’.

सुहृत्-सर्वावस्थायां हितकरं—who ministers to us in all our needs.

The attributes are all neuter nominatives except प्रभुं which is accusative in form.

The gist of the verse is that the Supreme Being is pure consciousness and is not to be confounded with the senses, their activities and objects.

18. The soul within nine-gated town doth dwell  
And even as a swan it sallies forth  
To the outer world ; within its sway is held  
The regions all, of the quick and of the dead.

Since the knowledge of the identity of the individual soul and Isvara is hard to comprehend, the teaching is emphasised. It is by His power of *maya* that Isvara creates the worlds of subtle and gross bodies and Himself entering them appears as jiva or individual soul. He is in consequence the sole director of this world-spectacle.

नवद्वारे पुरे—in the city of nine gates ; *cp.* *Katha.*, II, 2-1.

देही—jiva or the individual soul residing in the body.

हंसः—*lit.* swan, the paramatman, so called because He destroys the effects of nescience.

हृन्मन्विद्यात्मकं कार्यं.

बहिः—रूपादौ बहिर्मुखत्वेन—He goes out to reach the object-world of form and colour ;  
*cp. Katha., II. 1-1.*

वशी—having under his direction.

स्थावरस्य चरस्यच—both the static and the dynamic or the inert and the moving.

19. And He has neither hands nor feet and yet  
Fleet of foot He is and all doth grasp,  
He sees sans eyes, He hears sans ears, He knows  
All that there is to be known but none there is  
The knower of Him. And Him they call the First,  
The mighty, and the peerless Isvara.

By a kind of oxymoron Brahman, the Absolute, is described. How can He go fast who has no legs? Because He is the constant witness of things known and unknown. He appears as though He is moving rapidly. Since the whole range of creation owes its existence to Isvara, He may be said to hold everything in His grasp. He is the very being, the moving principle of all organs—sensory and motor, and as such all activities are possible for Him without the aid of the organs.

वेद्यं—वेदनीयं, निखिलमपि वस्तुजातं—the whole of the object-world.

नच तस्यास्ति वेत्ता—there is none who knows Him ; *cp.* “नान्योऽतोऽस्ति द्रष्टा.”

आहुः—they, the Brahma-knowers, say.

अग्र्यं—First ; प्रथमं सर्वकारणत्वात्, because He is the ultimate cause of the universe.

महान्तं—वस्तुतः अवच्छिन्नं—having no second entity.

20. He's subtler far than the subtlest, vaster far  
Than the vastest ; the Atman dwells within the depths  
Of beings ; Him, the passionless and sublime,  
The Lord, who sees with all His senses stilled,  
Shall then remain from every sorrow freed.

This same idea is contained in *Katha., I. 2-20.*

अक्रतुं—विषयभोगसङ्कल्परहितं—one who is devoid of all desire to taste the joys of the world.

धातुप्रसादात्—इन्द्रियाणि, धातवः (शरीरस्य धारणात्), तेषां प्रसादात् विषयदोषदर्शनबला-  
द्यपनयात्—by the pacification of the senses. ‘धातुःप्रसादात्’ is another reading  
meaning, by the grace of Isvara.

The idea is that it is only by self-discipline and divine grace that one can realise the *atman*.  
For the worldly-minded the knowledge of God is an impossibility.

21. And Him I know, the ageless and ancient yet,  
The self of all, whose being is everywhere  
Since He pervades this all, whose birth, the wise  
Deny and whose eternal state  
The seekers after God for sure proclaim.

Assurance is given of the true nature of the supreme being by one who has communed with God. What could be more convincing than the personal experience of the teacher ?

अजरं-विपरिणामवर्जितं—one who undergoes no mutation.

जन्मनिरोधं, etc.—whose birth is denied by the Brahnavadins.

The phrase is also explained as :—i. उत्पत्तिविनाशो—birth and death. In the conception of God, the notions of birth and death do not arise ; ii. जगज्जन्मजगन्निरोधं (संहति)

च परमेश्वरस्य कर्म etc.—the birth and destruction of the world are both God's work.

नित्यं—eternal ; the worlds may vanish but He will remain.

# STUDIES IN BIRD-MYTHS No. XXVII.—ON AN ANDAMANESE MYTH ABOUT THE MALAYAN KINGFISHER AND THE BLACK-CAPPED PURPLE KINGFISHER.

BY PROF. SARAT CHANDRA MITRA, M.A., B.L.

A GOOD deal of folklore has gathered about birds. This is on account of their possessing the power of flight and the gift of song. They figure largely in folklore as messengers between the sky and the earth, the bringers of souls and of babies, *and lastly as the bringers of fire from divine or semi-divine beings.*

Many primitive peoples believe that fire was originally kept in the custody of some divine or semi-divine being, and that some bird flew up to the celestial regions, stole the fire from the divine or semi-divine being in whose custody it was kept, and brought it down to the earth. For instance, the Andamanese or the inhabitants of the Andaman Islands in the Indian Ocean, who are so low in the scale of civilization that they do not even know the art of fire-making, believe in the existence of a gigantic anthropomorphic being, called in different dialects, Biliku, Bilik, Puluga or Oluga. Biliku is sometimes believed to have created the earth and the first Andamanese. There is a tradition to the effect that the ancestors of the Andamanese, who lived on the other side of the strait, had no fire. One day, the kingfisher flew up to Biliku while she (or he) was sleeping, and stole fire from her (or him) and supplied it to the said ancestors of the Andamanese. When Biliku discovered this theft she (or he) was very much angry with the kingfisher and threw a fire brand (or a pearl-shell knife) at the kingfisher and went away to the sky (or to some place towards the north-east).\*

Another version of the Andamanese myth is to the effect that, after a great flood had extinguished all fire upon the earth, a deceased islander came as a kingfisher to the four human survivors of the flood, and offered to help them. The kingfisher flew up to the sky and attempted to bring away on his back a burning log, which he found by the side of one of the gods. The log accidentally fell on the god who, becoming exasperated, lifted it and hurled it at the daring intruder. It missed the bird but fell to the earth

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\* *Vide The Handbook of Folklore.* By C. S. Burne, new edition. London: Sidgwick and Jackson, Limited, 1914, pp. 110—11.

near the very spot where the four shivering survivors of the flood were seated bemoaning their fate.\*

Now, the kingfisher referred to in the two foregoing Andamanese myths must be either the Malayan kingfisher (*Alcedo beavani*, Wald) or the Black-Capped Purple Kingfisher (*Halcyon pileata*, Bodd.), for these birds appear to be found not only in the Malayan peninsula but also on the neighbouring Andaman and Nicobar islands.

It is impossible for me to say why the aforementioned kingfishers were selected by the Andamanese myth-makers for playing the role of fire-bringers. Perhaps it is on account of the strong power of flight which enabled them to fly up to the sky and bring back the fire.

An analogous legend which is current in Europe is to the effect that the little bird wren flew to heaven to fetch down fire for the use of mortals and accidentally had his tail feathers burnt.†

A similar legend is current among the inhabitants of Nomoluk, one of the Caroline Islands in the South Pacific Ocean. They have a tradition to the effect that human beings were taught the art of fire-making by the gods. Olofact, the cunning master of flames, gave the fire to the bird called the *Urvi*, and ordered him to convey it to men upon the earth. Accordingly, taking the fire in his bill, the bird flew from tree to tree in the woods and stored it up therein. Hence, men extract fire by rubbing two pieces of wood together.‡

In the preceding four myths we find the two undermentioned facts figuring prominently :—

- (1) Fire used to be kept in heaven under the custody of some god or some supernatural being;
- (2) Some bird, like the kingfisher or the wren, or the *Urvi* flew up to heaven and, having stolen fire therefrom, brought it down to the earth for the use of mortals.

In Greek mythology, however, we find that a human being named Prometheus stole fire from heaven and brought it down to the earth for the use of men. Similarly, many other peoples have their respective culture-heroes who are to this day adored by them for having established cities, introduced the arts of agriculture and metallurgy or, like Prometheus of Greek mythology, for having stolen fire from heaven and brought it down to the earth for the use of their respective peoples.

\* *Vide* the article entitled : *Bird Mythology*. By R. P. P. in *The Calcutta Review* (No. CCXXV) for July 1901, pp. 74—78.

† *Op. cit.*, pp. 74—75.

‡ *Vide The Golden Bough*. By Sir J. G. Frazer, abridged edition. London: Macmillan & Co. 1923, pp. 707—708.

# STUDIES IN PLANT-MYTHS No. V.—ON A BIRHOR ÆTIOLOGICAL MYTH ABOUT THE ORIGIN OF THE SABAI GRASS.

BY PROF. SARAT CHANDRA MITRA, M.A., B.L.

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THE Sabāi Grass (*Ischoemum angustifolium*, Hack) belongs to the order Gramineae. Its vernacular names are *Bhabar* in Hindi, *Babvi* or *Baboi*, *Saba* in Bengali, and *Sabāi* in Hindustani. It is a perennial grass with strong wiry stems, clothed at their bases with woolly pubescence. Its leaves are long and narrow and furnished with involute edges. Each stem bears two or four racemes, composed of numerous spikelets which are densely clothed with brownish or golden-coloured silky hairs.

This species of grass occurs plentifully in the Sub-Himalayan tract as well as in the hilly parts of Bundelkhand and Central India. It is frequently found associated with *Eriophosum comosum*. It is for this reason that Wallich and Royle committed the error which has been recently corrected, of viewing both as one and the same. *Eriophosum* is a sedge; while *Ischoemum* is a grass. But both are, no doubt, utilized for the same purposes.

This grass is used in paper-making and in the manufacture of string, rope, mats and baskets.

Dr. King, in his *Report of the Royal Botanic Gardens, Calcutta*, for 1882-1883, has said :—"This grass abounds in the hilly parts of Bihar and Chutia Nagpur where it is known as *Sabāi*. From these regions it can be obtained in quite considerable enough quantity to make its utilization as a paper-material a feasible project."

The *Sabāi* grass yields two crops in the year,—one in September and the other at the end of October or in early November. It is understood that the Bally Paper Mills, Calcutta, still continue to use a considerable amount of the *Sabāi* grass drawing its supplies from Chutia Nagpur and Nepal Terai.

It may be stated here that the two most important indigenous paper-grass fibres in India are the *Munj* and the *Bhabar* (or *Sabāi*) grass.\* The Birhors are a small Dravidian tribe which lives in the hilly and jungle tracts of Chota Nagpore. From what has been stated above, it would appear that the *Sabāi* grass (*Ischoemum angustifolium*) grows plentifully in the hilly tracts of Bihar (which includes the Santal Parganas) and of Chota Nagpore, where also the Birhors have their habitat. The peculiarly tufted and hairy appearance

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\* *Vide The Dictionary of Economic Products of India*. By George Watt, M.B., C.I.E. in four volumes, published by W. H. Allen & Co., London, 1890. Vol. IV, pp. 526-528.



of the *Sabāi* grass attracted the notice of these primitive folk, the thoughtful members of which, being devoid of all scientific knowledge, were unable to hit upon the true causes which gave this grass its tufted and hairy appearance. As the result thereof, these keen-witted Birhor seekers after knowledge invented the undermentioned ætiological myth to account for the origin of the afore-described tufted and hairy appearance of the *Sabāi* grass:—

Once upon a time, there lived seven Birhor brothers and their only sister. One day the sister while chopping *sāgs* for cooking happened to cut her fingers and wiped the blood thereof with the greens. Thereafter she cooked these blood-stained *sāgs* which became uncommonly tasty. When her brothers returned home from hunting and ate the *sāgs*, they found the same to be exceedingly sweet. When they came to know that it was their sister's blood which had given the greens this exquisite taste they made up their minds to kill her and eat her flesh. Accordingly the six elder brothers killed her and ate her flesh. But the youngest brother who loved his sister dearly and did not take any active part in killing her, did not partake of the portion of her flesh which was given to him to eat. Instead of eating this flesh, he buried the same in the earth. From the buried flesh of his sister, there sprouted up a fine bamboo-shoot.

An old beggar and his wife cut this bamboo and, from it, made a *kendra* or guitar in which dwelt the spirit of the murdered Birhor sister. Shortly afterwards, the youngest brother came to know that the spirit of his dead sister lived in the beggar's *kendra* or guitar. So he surreptitiously exchanged his own guitar with the beggar's spirit-haunted *kendra*, and brought the latter to his own home.

Whenever the youngest brother left his home and went out on business, the spirit of his deceased sister could come out of the *kendra* and cook nice and tasty dishes for him, which he ate with great gusto. Getting astonished at this and desiring to know who the unseen visitor could be, who cooked such nice food for him, he hid himself one day, and caught hold of his sister. Then, recognizing each other and hearing from her youngest brother the story of his great affection for her and of his abstinence from eating her flesh, she no longer dwelt in the guitar but stayed back in her brother's house where she looked after the household affairs and did the cooking.

For the purpose of punishing his six elder brothers who had so cruelly killed their sister to eat her flesh, the youngest brother gave a feast to which he invited the former. After the six elder brothers had heartily eaten the meal, their sister appeared before them and rated them roundly for having killed her. Hearing this reproof, their consciences were smitten with compunction and self-upbraiding for their cruel and heartless conduct; and they

exclaimed: "We do not wish to live any longer. Let the earth yawn and we will enter the chasm and be engulfed in it." At this, the earth opened up and the six elder brothers, who had now become repentant, entered the chasm and were about to be completely swallowed up therein when their sister stepped forward and, catching hold of the locks of hair on their heads, tried to save them from being buried alive. But lo and behold! before she could extricate them from their living grave they were swallowed up by the earth. Only the locks of hair of their head were left in her hands. These locks of hair were miraculously metamorphosed into the *sabāi grass*.\*

From a careful analysis of the foregoing myth, we find that, by fabricating it, the Birhor myth-maker has fulfilled the three undermentioned objects:—

- (1) He has explained, in a fascinating way, the origin of the tufted and hairy appearance of the *sabāi grass*.
- (2) He has inculcated the great moral lesson that all virtuous acts must be rewarded; while all acts of nefarious wrong-doing should be invariably and drastically punished. In the present case the six inhuman elder brothers have been very rightly punished for their grossly cruel conduct towards their only sister.
- (3) His myth also illustrates the fact that, in some cases, the victim's natural feelings of affection get the better of his or her feelings of vengeance, and, being saturated with the milk of human kindness, cry for mercy to those who have behaved inhumanly to him or her.

The foregoing myth is also current, in modified forms, among another Dravidian tribe, namely, the Santals of the Santal Parganas as also among a Kolarian or pre-Dravidian tribe, namely, the Hos of Singbhum.

In the Santali folktale entitled: *Seven Brothers and Their Sister*,† the sister is sacrificed by the six elder brothers as an offering to the water-spirit who is not allowing water to come out of a tank which they are excavating. The sister miraculously comes to life again and, meeting with her seven brothers, reproves them for their heartlessness in having mercilessly sacrificed her. On this, they struck the earth with an axe whereupon the ground opened up; and when the brothers were about to be swallowed up therein, she caught hold of her youngest brother's hair and tried to save him from being buried alive. But the hair was left in her hand and all the brothers were engulfed in the yawning chasm. She afterwards planted the

\* For the fuller version of this Birhor myth, vide *The Bihors*. By Rai Bahadur Sarat Chandra Ray, M.A., B.L., M.L.C., Randi: 1925, pp. 427—436.

† *Santal Folk-Tales*. By A. Campbell, Bekhuria; 1891, pp. 106—110.

hair in the earth which was metamorphosed into the *sabāi* grass (in Santali, it is called the *Bach Korn* grass).

In another Santal variant named: *How the Sabāi Grass Grew*,\* the incidents mentioned in the Birhor myth set forth above, also occur.

The incidents narrated in the Birhor myth summarized above also occur in a Ho folktale entitled: *The Origin of the Sabāi Grass*.† These happened in the following way:—When the heroine's five brothers, who had killed her, became repentant and were pardoned by her (who had, in the meantime, been restored to life), they knelt down and beat the ground with their hands out of sheer shame whereupon the earth opened up and swallowed them, leaving only the hairs of their heads projecting out of the ground. *From their hairs grew up the sabāi grass*.

There now remains only another point to be discussed. It is the fact that a bamboo grew up from the buried flesh of the murdered Birhor girl. This is another illustration of the primitive man's belief that the blood is the seat of the soul of the vegetable or of the vegetation-spirit. I have already fully dealt with and discussed this point in my paper entitled "*On Two Dusan Aetiological Myths about the Paddy-Plant*" which has been published elsewhere.‡

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\* *Vide Man in India*, Vol. VI (1926), pp. 140—149.

† *Vide Folklore of the Santal Parganas*. By C. H. Bompas, London. David Nutt, 1909, p. 106.

‡ *Op. Cit.*, p. 467.

Errata in the Article "Some Problems of Identity in Early Vijayanagar History", pp. 251-269 of Vol. XIX, No. 4 of this Journal.

No.	Page	Line	
1.	252		Footnote 2, line 4— <i>For</i> 1368 <i>read</i> 1367.
2.	253		„ 2, line 1— <i>For</i> 1368 <i>read</i> 1369.
3.	254		„ 1, line 1— <i>For</i> 75 <i>read</i> 35.
4.	„		„ 2, line 1— <i>For</i> 14th <i>read</i> 21st.
5.	256	23	... <i>For</i> 'Chadala' <i>read</i> 'Chaudala'.
6.	257		Footnote 1, line 1— <i>For</i> Š. 1298 <i>read</i> Š. 1278.
7.	259		„ 5, line 2— <i>Omit</i> the bracket after 'Wednesday' and <i>insert</i> it after 'Sankranti' in the next line.
8.	262	18	After <i>J. B. Br. A. S.</i> , IX, <i>insert</i> p. 225.
9.	263	1	After "identical" <i>insert</i> a dash.
10.	„	29	After Angirasa <i>put</i> a full stop in place of comma and make the next letter "b" capital.
11.	264	7	<i>Change</i> 'Voedyar' into 'Voḍeyar'.
12.	265	5-7	<i>Strike off</i> the three lines 'Bukka I..... .. Mallappa Voḍeyar'.
13.	„	19	<i>Remove</i> the figure 1 above Malladevi to line 17 above the word 'inscriptions'.
14.	266	17	<i>Insert</i> 'as' after 'becomes read'.
15.	„		Footnote 2 :— <i>For</i> 96 <i>read</i> 196.
16.	267	34-35	<i>Print</i> 'Names wrongly.....Bukka II' in the next line in thick type.
17.	„	37	<i>Omit</i> the colon after 'Vijayanagar kings'.
18.	268	21	<i>Insert</i> 108 after 'Taluk'.
19.	„	22	<i>For</i> Ma. Su. <i>read</i> Māsi.
20.	„	39	<i>Change</i> 'para. 6' into 'page 255'.

## NOTES.

### Dravidic Place-Names in the Plateaux of Persia.

MR. R. S. VAIDYANATHA AIYAR'S interesting article on "Sumero-Dravidian and Hittite-Aryan Origins" appearing in the latest number of the *Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society* (April 1929) provides much material for reflection to the Dravidologue.

Various theories have been put forward to explain the origin and the affinities of Dravidian; but none of them so far has been scientific enough to compel conviction. Caldwell suggested that while Dravidian was most allied to the Finno-Ugrian group, there were also numerous word-correspondences between Dravidian on the one hand and Indo-Germanic, Semitic, Chinese, Japanese and even the Negrito languages on the other. The theory of Australian affinities, put forward about a century ago by Norris, appears to have received the approval of a very recent Italian scholar, A. Trombetti.\* Pater W. Schmidt, however, who is a distinguished student of the Australian group of languages, rejects this theory of Dravido-Australian affinities. The prevailing impression amongst the generality of scholars—an impression for which strict scientific proof is still lacking—is that the Dravidian race and language, like the Aryan, may have had its origin somewhere in Central Asia, and thence spread to India prior to the advent of the Aryans. The isolated Dravidian dialect—Brahui—of Baluchistan indicates, according to this view, a stranded rearguard of a people who had been pressed south by the superior Aryan immigrants of a later epoch. Next, there is the theory which attempts to make out the autochthonous character of Dravidian,—a view that has not so far received any support from European scholars.

Mention might also be made here of a recent attempt† by Prof. F. Otto Schrader "to show that there exists between the Dravidian languages on the one hand, and the Uralic family on the other, a historical connection which should be explained, if not through original relationship, at least through the postulate of pre-historic proximity and very intimate influence which may have been one-sided or mutual."

The discovery of the ancient ruins of Harappa and Mohen-Jo-Daro has also led recent scholars to postulate the equation Sumerian=Dravidian. Mr. Vaidyanatha Aiyar's thesis favours this view. It would be of fascinating interest to know from his forthcoming work the full character of the evidence on which he bases

\* *Elementi di Glottologia* (1922); the theory is referred to and rejected by Pater W. Schmidt on page 121 of his monumental work: *Die Sprachfamilien und Sprachenkreise der Erde* (1928).

† *Zeitschrift für Indologie und Iranistik*, Vol. III, (pages 82, *et seq.*). Though conventional scholarship has viewed this thesis with disapproval, there is no doubt that the facts pointed out therein are of unique significance in the study of Dravidology. Prof. Schrader's article has not yet been translated into English. For a summary of it see the *Madras Educational Review* (1924).

his thesis but of which he has given us in the present essay only a few light indications.

We may at once observe here that, so far as linguistic affinities are concerned, final conclusions can be based only on a comparison of fundamental grammatical features. Verbal correspondences, if they are not purely conjectural, by themselves can at best only point to the existence of contact between the languages; and even this would be conclusive only if the etymologies of the corresponding forms are well investigated on the one side and on the other. If the verbal correspondences are sufficiently numerous and if these correspondences extend to the basic radicals of the languages, then a relationship in structure and grammatical features may be sought for; and only when there is such close agreement in reference to these latter-mentioned characteristics as cannot be explained away by the postulate of external borrowing, can a definite relationship could be fixed.

Prof. Schrader in his thesis mentioned above, has made out a fairly strong case, if not for the relationship of Dravidian to Uralic, at least for the need for further investigation into the view that there may have been borrowing between these two groups of languages.

Is it possible, then, that there were Dravidian-speaking peoples in Central Asia at a pre-historic period?

On this point a German enthusiast has tried to shed light in a small brochure recently published under the title *Alt-Dravidisches* (Old Dravidic)\* in which the author makes a brave attempt at tracing a large number of ancient place-names in Afghanistan, the highlands of Persia, the plains of the Euphrates and the Tigris and Mesopotamia generally, to Dravidian forms. The author points out a large number of striking correspondences of which we shall give a few below. Proceeding on the admitted fact that these tracts were peopled by non-Aryan and non-Semitic tribes,† some of whom were collectively called Sumerian and some Scythian, the author makes the remarkable induction that these ancient pre-historic inhabitants who were presumably responsible for the place-names some of which are in currency even to-day, must have been Dravidians.

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\* *Alt-Dravidisches-Eine namenkundliche Untersuchung* von A. Clemens Schoener, published by the Author at Partenkirchen (Germany).

† On page 7 of his book, Schoener points out the following admitted facts :—

(i) Non-Aryan races inhabited the uplands of Persia and the districts beyond Afghanistan and Baluchistan. In the homes of the Mazda worshippers there were servant-maids and attendants who were outside the pale of "the faithful". Mention is particularly made in the Avesta and in the earliest Zoroastrian traditions of such non-Aryan tribes.

(ii) The *skuthoi* of the Greeks was a collective term which described a great many non-Aryan races. The Peutinger-map demarcates the region about the ruins of Kala Bist, by the name *Scythia Dymirice*. *Dymirice* reminds us at once of *Limurike* of the *Periplus*, with which the other forms *Damurike* and *Tamerai* (referring clearly to the Tamils) should be connected.

(iii) A Scythian queen who conquered and killed, according to tradition, king Kyros, was called *Tomuris* and *Tamouris*. "Die Sage machte sie zu eine Massageten Königin, die den König Kyros besiegt und getötet haben soll. Der kern der Sage besteht darin, dass sich Kämpfe abgespielt haben zwischen Ariern und den zu unterwerfenden Nicht-Ariern."

The author is of opinion that Dravidian and Sumerian are separate, though Sumerian has borrowed a large number of words from Dravidian. He is inclined to think that the original Dravidian peoples must have inhabited the banks of the Euphrates and the Tigris and that from thence, pressed outwards by other races like the Semites, the Sumerians and the Aryans, they must have spread over the plateaux of Persia and thence penetrated into India.

I shall give below a few instances of what the author regards as the Dravidic place-names of S. W. Central Asia :—

(a) The Dravidian word *āru* (river, stream, etc.) is found in the following names of places and rivers in the neighbourhood of Afghanistan and Baluchistan :—

- (1) *Aru*, a place about 90 km. south-west of the town Kirman in the neighbourhood of a river-source.
- (2) *Talar*, the name of two small hills north-east and north-west of the town Passani, whence two small streams originate. Cf. Tamil *talai*+*ār*. Cf. also *Talai-Kāvēri*.
- (3) *Rawar* (or Lowar) a place lying between two streams 110 km. north-west of Kirman in Persia. Cf. Drav. *iru* (two)+*ār* (river).
- (4) *Parwar*, a stream running through an arid tract in the district Jalawan. Cf. *pāl* (waste)+*ār*.
- (5) *Chinnar*, a branch of the river Kabul. Cf. *chinna* (small)+*ar*.
- (6) Two rivers *Peiwar* and *Kawar* in Farsistan. Cf. *pei* (mad)+*ār*; *kāvu* (garden)+*ār*.
- (7) *Minab*, a place 125 km. north-west of Passani=Dr. *Mīn* (fish)+Aryan *ab* (water).
- (8) East of Bampur and Pura is *Haftar*, a place where seven rivers mingle together=Semitic *haft* (seven)+*ār*.

(b) Dravidian *ār* appears in the names of places and of rivers in the plains of the Euphrates and the Tigris :—

- (1) *Sinar*, mentioned in the Bible, denoting the land between the two rivers, Euphrates and Tigris=Semitic *shene* (two)+*ār*.
- (2) *Kebār*, a stream mentioned in the Bible but of disputed identity=Dr. *kavi* (hole, cave)+*ār*.
- (3) *Mugheir* or *El mukkaïyar*, the name of the ruins of Ur, the ancient city, found at the confluence of three streams=*mu* (three)+*kay* (hand, branch)+*ār*.
- (4) *Sippar*, a town whose ruins were discovered about 48 km. south-west of Bagdad=Dr. *sippu* (mussel)+*ār*.

(c) Dravidian *ūtu* (spring, river) appears, according to the author, in the following :—

- (1) *Arakuttu*, the river *Arghandab*, described in the Assyrian inscriptions as being a place in the East, which was invaded by Tiglat Pileasar III =Dr. *aḷagu* (fine, beautiful)+*ūttu*. The Greek term *arachotos* is

related to *arakuttu* which, according to the author, appropriately enough describes what has been recognized as the crystal-clear waters of this river.

(2) *Sikruti*, another place-name mentioned in the same inscription=Dr. *sigara* (high)+*üttu*.

(3) *Utu*, the name of a river and *Yutiya* (in the great inscription of Darius) denoting the inhabitants of Southern Carmania. Cf. Dr. *üttiyar* (the people by the side of the river).

(d) *Gadrosia* (as given by Arrian) or *Kedrosia* (as given by Diodorus) is related by the author to Dr. *Kaḍel* (sea).

(e) *Malai* (mountain), a common Dr. word occurs in a large number of names of hills and mountains:—

(1) *Ras malān*, a peak in Baluchistan 620 metres in height, called *malana* by Arrian. #

(2) *Mala jen*, in the district Hamadan, Kuh malu in Luristan.

(f) Dr. *kal* (stone) is found in the following:—*kal-dar* (near Amur Darja); *kal-gosh* (in the plains of Deshti-lut); *kala-kal* (in East Persia) near a rocky mountain; *kalag* (in Baluchistan), *kalata* (in Afghanistan) both near rocky mountains, etc.

(g) Dr. *manṇu* (soil, ground, earth, etc.) is found in the following:—*karmane* (known to-day as kirman)=Dr. *karu* (black)+*man*; *Parman*, near a desert tract in Bashakerd=Dr. *pāl* (waste)+*man*; etc.

(h) Dr. *ūr* (village, town, country) is found in a number of place-names in South-West Central Asia:—*Bambur*, 12 km. south-west of Pura in Gedrosia =*pambu* (snake)+*ūr*; *Nippur*, the famous ancient city; *Uruk*, the Babylonian city; the great ancient Sumerian city *Ur*; etc.

(i) Some other striking correspondences are the following:—

(1) *Sargōn*, the name of a king of Assyria and Babylon about 700 B.C.; he was known as “the just king”. Cf. Dr. *sari* (straight)+*kōn* (king).

(2) *Chinnaran*, the name of a small fort, north-west of the town Meshed in Persia. Cf. Tamil *chinna* (small)+*aram* (fort).

(3) *Kaboura* of Ptolemy (now Kabul). Cf. Dr. *Kāvu* (garden)+*ūr*.

(4) *Baitia ore* of Ptolemy, the names of mountains described in ancient Atlases as *Baetu*. Cf. Dr. *pai*, *paccāi* (green).

We have given above only a few of the large number of correspondences adduced by the German writer. The historical verifications and connections on the one hand, and the possibilities of linguistic relationship with the various languages of South-West Central Asia on the other, have not been exhaustively worked out by Herr Schoener in his brochure; but after making allowance for a number of possible eliminations from his lists, there yet may exist a large number of correspondences whose cumulative value might certainly call for the need for further inquiry into the possibility of Dravidian settlements and colonies having



existed in a pre-historic past in this part of Asia. The shock\* which scholars accepting conventional views might feel should, in the interests of truth, not be allowed to minimise the value of such investigations, however inevitably inadequate these may be from the strictly scientific point of view. "Where history is silent, place-names might speak," says Herr Schoener, and he has placed before us certain very interesting facts which call aloud for further investigation. The chill blast of scepticism should not, in our opinion, snuff out the enthusiasm of such scholars.

Towards the end of his brochure, Herr Schoener suggests that Dravidian words like *ār* (river) are discoverable in Pre-Indo-Germanic names of places and of rivers in Central Europe also. He has given us a number of instances of such place-names which hitherto have resisted all attempts at etymological analysis and have been collectively described as "Liguric".†

These facts, Herr Schoener thinks, make it imperative that Bishop Caldwell's view about the relationship between Dravidian words on the one hand and Indo-Germanic, Semitic and "Scythian" words on the other, deserves to be investigated on the basis of a study of ancient place-names which alone, in the absence of direct historical evidence, can shed light on this problem. To this task Herr Schoener is now addressing himself. He proposes to call the ancient Dravidian that he believes to have originated in South-West Central Asia and spread to the East and to the West, by the name *Ār-mal-ūr* from the three Dravidian words denoting *river*, *mountain* and *country*, so that thereby the present conventional associations about Dravidian may be got rid of. He has also announced the forthcoming publication of a work of his, entitled: *Armalurisches Lehngut—Eine Rechtfertigung für Caldwell* (Armaluric Loan-Stock—A justification for Caldwell). South Indian students of Dravidology may look forward with interest to the appearance of this work.

L. V. RAMASWAMI AIYAR, M.A., B.L.

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\* An instance of this is found in the review of Herr Schoener's book which appeared in a recent number of the *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung* (Nov. 1928, page 990), in which the reviewer after pointing out a few *alternative* derivations for a few of Schoener's instances, dismisses the entire book with the summary judgment: "Die vorliegende Arbeit bedeutet einen Fehlgriff und ist nur geeignet, die junge Dravidologie in ein ungünstiges Licht zu setzen."

† That the term "Liguric" only conceals the ignorance of scholars about the origin of a large number of words has been pointed out by Jellinghaus, as quoted by Schoener on page 50 of his book: "Es ist jetzt wohl zweifellos, dass viele Namen, die man früher als keltisch bezeichnete, nicht von den Kelten, sondern von der früheuropäischen Bergasse gegeben sind, deren unbekannte Sprache man ganz unbeholfen 'ligurisch' genannt hat."

## REVIEWS.

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### Oraon Religion and Customs.

BY RAI BAHADUR SARAT CHANDRA ROY, M.A., M.L.C.

Published at the Industry Press, Calcutta. Price Rs. 12.

RAI BAHADUR SARAT CHANDRA ROY is too well known in the anthropological world to need any introduction. The publication of a volume on *Oraon Religion and Customs* was foreshadowed in 1915, when his *Oraons of Chota Nagpur* first appeared. He has since been engaged in the investigation of their religion and customs for well-nigh twelve years, and the results are embodied in the present richly illustrated volume which opens with an Introduction by that talented ethnologist, Colonel T. C. Hodson, M.A., I.C.S., now Reader in Ethnology in the University of Cambridge.

Opinion is varied among anthropologists as to the relation between magic and religion. According to Frazer, magic represents a more primitive thought, and he opines that magic preceded religion, which is an invention co-ordinate with the growth in man of the conviction that magic is not efficacious. Dr. Keane holds with Sydney Hartland that religion is saturated with magic, and that, in their later developments, one becomes separated from the other. The view thus propounded meets with acceptance at the hands of the author of the *Cochin Tribes and Castes*, who supports it with a wealth of illustrations drawn from among the backward tribes of Cochin.

The researches of the Rai Bahadur go a different way. He points out that, although magic is not often found in combination with Oraon's religion, the two never fuse, and that the ministers of Oraon religion differ from those of magic unlike the Parayas of South India. He lays stress on the point that, where religion is the business of the community, magic is the business of the specialist.

Oraon society has a hierarchy of gods. Highest in rank stands Dharmes otherwise known as Sun-king. Though acknowledged as supreme deity, he stands apart and does not interfere in the ordinary routine life of the people. Next come the tutelary deities and spirits of each separate village who contribute to the well-being of villagers and receive the most elaborate sacrifices. Then come the family spirits including ancestor spirits, clan spirits. Lowest come the minor spirits and tramp spirits called Bhutas which are not objects of much propitiation. Oraon religion may be characterised as a system of spiritism, set on a background of a much more primitive or vague animatism. The Oraon's ideal of life is to live in good terms with his tribe-fellows, with gods and spirits, to possess sufficient lands and cattle, and be free from debts. He believes Dharmes to be the guardian of morality and to control other gods and spirits. He regards him as anterior to all, the author, preserver, controller and punisher of men, gods and

spirits in the universe. The cult of deities and spirits is said to have arisen later on. He erects no temples generally, but in some villages, a small shed is put up for Devimai or Mother-goddess. This is an imitation of Hindu practice. For the other village-deities of the Oraon pantheon, one or more Sal groves constitute the shrine. Stones symbolize deities.

Coming to magic, the Oraon knows how far realisation of expectations squares with experience, and he has recourse to magical practices to avert untoward contingencies and neutralise ill-effects. All magic is approved by tribal conscience, and it may be beneficent or maleficent. In the case of the latter, the aid of some familiar spirit is availed of to harm men or cattle. In magic, his attitude is one of defiance of and control and domination over impersonal mysterious forces and powers residing in natural or artificial objects by means of charms, spells and incantations, and the result is the expulsion of evil and compulsion of natural or supernatural forces and powers in the production of desirable conditions. The ordinary magic doctor gets on well but the maleficent doctor is condemned by tribal conscience.

Space forbids us to deal with the interesting matter relating to socio-religious rites and ceremonies and religious feasts and festivals. The work is so full of charm and interest to the general reader who desires to know something of the religion and customs of this interesting people. We have great pleasure in commending this volume to all students of anthropology.

L. A. K.

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### Archæological Survey of India : Annual Report : 1924-25.

THE report opens with a reference to the sad news of the demise of Dr. Spooner, a distinguished scholar and indefatigable worker, in whose death archæological research really feels poorer.

During the year under report, several historic monuments were brought within the field of conservation, especially those at Fathepur Sikri, the Buddhist monuments at Kasia and Sarnath, and the famous caves of Nanaghat and Karle.

Further explorations were conducted in Taxila and Nalanda and in the Indus Valley. All will feel thankful for the exhaustive description and profuse illustrations of the finds at Mohenjodaro (Pls. XVII to XXIII) and Harappa (Pls. XXV to XXVIII). The matchless ceramics, the exquisite jewellery and numerous specimens of engraved seals are fully photographed. A stone obelisk resembling a Sivalinga was also discovered among the relics of the "Indus civilization".

The famous carving at Mahabalipuram—Arjuna's penance—is now interpreted anew. It is said that it is not a scene from the *Mahabharata* but that it represents the Mt. Kailas and the sacred Ganges flowing from the Himalayas, the uplifted hands being those of ascetics in Kailas. Our own feeling, however, is the earlier interpretation is more probable.

The Curator, Indian Museum at Calcutta, notes with pleasure an acquisition of 1809 specimens of historic importance, especially of the Gupta Art, whose influence on the Javanese art is also traced by him.

The Epigraphic Department reviewed more than 900 inscriptions, mostly bearing on later mediæval period. Only two parts of the *Epigraphia Indica*, Part VIII of XV and Part VII of XVII, were issued. A Kannada-Sanskrit inscription refers to Rajendra Chola who was killed by Someswara I on the ground that the former was a defiler and destroyer of temples on the west coast. Another inscription of Raja Raja I (991—1012) from Tirnaduturai mentions a grant of land for enacting a drama in the style of Aryaküttu. Later, Kulottunga makes provision for maintaining a theatre. A record from Elephanta, dated 1086 A.D., supplies its ancient name of Sripuri.

Two numbers of the *Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica* were published. A Kufic inscription from Hund (N.W.F.) is reported as the earliest Muslim record (1090 A.D.) yet found in India.

The third central Asian expedition by Sir A. Stein resulted in further collection of fine terracotta samples, pieces of cotton cloth and examples of Central Asian painting, which are to be housed in New Delhi.

Thanks of all scholars are due to the munificence and enlightened interest of H. E. H. Nizam's Government for strenuous attempts to arrest from decay the rare Ajanta frescoes.

We await with interest the promised publication of *The Innermost Asia* by Sir A. Stein and *Nalanda* by Mr. Hiranand Sastry.

B. V. R.

### Archæological Survey of India: Annual Report: 1925-26.

TWO outstanding events of the year 1925-26 are the generous grant by the Government of India for conservation and excavation and a "mass attack" by all the officers of the Archæological Department for a thorough exploration of the twin sites of Harappa and Mohenjadaró.

Of the several important monuments which received special repairs, a few famous ones may be noted, such as, the rare and wonderful rock temples of Masur in Kangra representing the Indo-Aryan style of architecture, Mahoba, Lahore fort and gardens, Jogeswari and Nanaghat caves, and the Fari Bagh Palace of Ahmednagar, said to have suggested the plan of the Taj at Agra.

A systematic exploration of the Indus Valley was undertaken. Discoveries of relics of chalcolithic age are reported from Nal in Baloochistan, revealing partial as well as complete burials and chisels of copper and celt. Traces of employment of bitumen for lining water-tanks, sacred tanks, phallic emblems, ensigns recalling pre-dynastic days of Egypt, a Swastika symbol, a seal portraying a hybrid creature—half man and half bull—resembling the Babylonian hero Eaban, are said to be further gleanings from "The Indus Civilization". The Curator, Calcutta Museum,

opines that up to first century B.C., the Jains, like the Buddhists, did not take to iconic worship and that image worship was due to the influence of the Bhagavath cult of Mathura and not of the Gandhara School.

During the year under report Parts I to IV of the *Epigraphia Indica* were issued. An early Brahmi inscription was found as a relic of Yaksha worship. The Bahur copper plates of the Pallava prince Vija Nripatunga Varman bring to our notice the ceremonial attending a grant of those days. The Vayalur plates published this year are said to correct some errors in the Pallavas' genealogy based on the Velurpalayam plates. It furnishes evidence of the Linga cult long before Channabasava.

The lovers of the Karnata country will be thankful for the beginnings and the systematic epigraphic survey of the Kanarese districts of Bombay which have been taken on hand none too soon. An inscription of Harihara II establishes that Vidyaranya and Vidyatirtha were two different individuals but not one and the same. The origin of Aihole is traced to 500 Brahmins who started an institution for the advancement of learning.

We might conclude by calling the attention of our readers to the interesting note on the Digambara and Swetambara images.

R.

## The Bakshali Manuscript—A Study in Mediæval Mathematics.

BY G. R. KAYE, ESQ.

Price Rs. 28 or 43s. 6d.

THE above volume consisting of two parts has been published in the Archæological Survey of India series, the MS. itself being not unfamiliar to the readers of the *Indian Antiquary*, which contained articles from Dr. Hoernle on this subject. The printing and get-up are excellent and the photographs of the MS. are well prepared. The first part of the book deals with the author's observations on the MS. while the second gives chapters on the script, the transliteration and facsimiles of the whole text. The contents of the first part are briefly: (1) History and Description of the MS., (2) Contents of the MS. and Method of Exposition, (3) Analysis of Mathematical Contents, (4) A Chapter on Measures, (5) Source and Age of the MS. and the Work. (In spite of the careful printing and a long list of errata, trivial errors such as '838' instead of '836' and '2.558' in place of '2558' in the penultimate line of page 27, 'B,' instead of 'B' on p. 32 and the omission of ' $\frac{d}{2}$ ' in ' $(t-1)\frac{d}{2}$ ' in the 5th line from the top on page 37, occur here and there.)

The MS. was found 'while digging in a ruined stone enclosure on one of the mounds near Bakshāli' in the Peshawar District, the greater portion of it being spoilt when it was removed from between the stones. Dr. Hoernle, who first worked at the MS. and analysed a considerable part of it, says: 'The beginning and end of the MS. being lost, both the name of the work and its author are unknown.

The subject of the work, however, is Arithmetic. It contains a great variety of problems relating to daily life.' The subject-matter of the MS. as analysed by Mr. Kaye contains: (1) Problems involving systems of linear equations; (2) Indeterminate equations of the second degree; (3) Arithmetical Progression; (4) Quadratic equations; (5) Approximate evaluation of square roots; (6) Complex Series; (7) Problems of the type  $x(1-\alpha_1)(1-\alpha_2)(1-\alpha_3) \dots (1-\alpha_n) = p$ ; (8) The computation of the fineness of gold; (9) Problems on Income and Expenditure and Profit and Loss; (10) Miscellaneous Problems; (11) Mensuration.

The author explains in a most clear manner the method of treatment in the work and illustrates the principles by a vast number of examples translated from the work. He compares the work at various stages with other works of eminent Indian mathematicians from the fifth to the sixteenth century. Numerous problems from Varāhamihira, Maharavīra and Bhāskara are given in footnotes and elsewhere to draw an analogy with the present work. Detailed tables have been given for measures of time, length, capacity, etc., as inferred from the Puranas and other eminent mathematical works. The author tries to supply evidences as far as possible to show that the Bakshālī MS. is of a later date than the eleventh century.

The author tries his best to establish Greek influence over Indian Mathematics. He tries to disprove Dr. Hoernle's opinion that the work is fairly ancient (fifth century) and to prove that the work ought to have been produced in the twelfth century. But the author does not seem to prove his case successfully. He himself is not sure of his position when he says 'if such (Greek) influence is to be negated finally it must be for special reasons to be discovered by subjecting our MS. to a detailed examination.' This shows that his own examination is not *sufficiently* detailed to make an authoritative assertion on a highly controversial point. He further believes that the work cannot be 'appreciably earlier' than the MS. but he himself calls this a 'tentative conclusion'. While trying to establish the theory of Greek influence over Indian mathematics, Mr. Kaye makes very general remarks and draws conclusions with which we must respectfully disagree. He says in one place: 'The use of the term with regard to numbers has been further confused by the misreading by Woepecke and others of the Arabic term *hindsā* (geometrical, having toda with numeration, etc.) which has nothing to do with India.' In another place he quotes and makes much use of an exaggeration of Alberuni: 'They . . . relate all sorts of things as being of Indian origin, of which we have not found a single trace with the Hindus themselves.' This statement emphatically refutes the Indian origin of 'all sorts of things' and says nothing about the numeration in particular. Mr. Kaye is evidently not prepared to accept the following of the same Alberuni: 'The numeral signs which we use are derived from the finest forms of the Hindu signs' (*India*, p. 174). The term *hindsā* will be now clear with regard to its meaning and use. His statement 'of the evidence as to age discussed, some is of doubtful value', shows that he has left no stone unturned to establish his theory of

Greek origin of Mathematics and to substantiate that the Bakshālī work was composed in the twelfth century during the age of Bhāskarāchārya, Omar Khayyām, Adelard of Bath and Leonardo of Pisa.

Eminent orientalists as Chasles, Woepecke, Cantor and Buhler have all established the Indian origin of mathematics and Mr. Kaye's arguments require further evidences and more conclusive proof in support of his view. Almost all Hindu works follow a certain method and we cannot easily assert which copied from which. In a footnote Mr. Kaye says: "This type of equation occurs in many mediæval works from the time of Diaphantus onwards . . . the Bakshālī text followed the fashion. Dr. Hoernle, however, thought that it indicated a 'peculiar' connexion between the Bakshālī MS. and Brahmagupta's work; and from this deduced that our text 'may have been one of the sources from whence the later astronomers took their arithmetical information'." The above arguments and the use of 'gavyūti' in the MS. which, according to Mr. Kaye, 'is not common in Hindu works but (it) occurs in the *Markandeya Purana*, the *Mahabharata*, etc.,' induces us to side with Dr. Hoernle in giving an earlier date to the work and to suggest that the later astronomers who followed the tradition might have dropped 'gavyūti' rather than say that the Bakshālī text followed the tradition and picked up 'gavyati' from the ancient works even though its use was discarded by earlier mathematicians. After all it must be remembered that we are only beginning to collect ancient MSS. and to interpret them in a meagre way; and it is hazardous to pronounce a definite opinion regarding the indebtedness, whole or part, of the Hindus to the Greek or other systems of mathematics. That there may have been mutual borrowings even at that far off age do not, however, appear improbable.

On the whole the present publication deserves careful study and examination as it is very likely to throw some light on highly controversial points regarding Indian mathematics if subjected to further close scrutiny. Seeing the folios of the MS. mostly torn and incomplete one cannot but give great credit for the admirable patience and industry with which the MS. has been translated.

We cannot conclude this review without expressing our most profound regret for the death of Dr. Kaye some time ago. It is some consolation that the distinguished author was able to see his monumental work in print and to know how the learned world appreciated his life-long labours in the pursuit of research. We heartily join in the tribute paid to his memory.

N. K. N.

## Zoroastrian Religion and Customs.

BY E. S. D. BHARUCHA, ESQ.

D. B. Taraporevala Sons & Co., Bombay. Price Rs. 3.

(3rd Edition revised and enlarged.)

WE are passing through a great deal of religious misunderstanding, or more appropriately want of understanding at the present time. Ignorance is its root cause. A sympathetic and rational understanding of the root principles, as opposed to mere current practices of all religions, would lead us into a haven of peace. For such a consummation, books going to the very root of religions and expounding in clear and unequivocal language what each religion stands for, rid of intellectual subtleties and scholastic idealisms, are essential. With this end in view the book *Zoroastrian Religion and Customs* serves a very useful purpose. It contains a clear exposition of the monotheism of the Zoroasters, that is, the present Parsees, and enunciates the ethical foundation of their religion. Ahura Mazda is their personal God and Zoroaster the inspired founder of their religion. The author proves the erroneousness of calling Parsees as fire-worshippers. "Do not say that they were fire-worshippers; for they were worshippers of God the Holy," says Ferdoshi in *Shahnamah*. The significance of the Parsee fire temples lies in this, *viz.*, 'Fire to them is a symbol of divinity and as such is worthy of respect and reverence.' They never profess themselves to be the worshippers of fire. We can discern a good deal of similarity between this and early Vedic religion, and the language of their sacred scriptures is akin to Vedic Sanskrit. Most of the problems of life are left untouched. As for the soul, the author says, "The ultimate destination of the soul after the shuffling off of the mortal coil is that it enters heaven or hell according to the preponderance of good or bad deeds and commences the next second life." This does not take us far but we must not forget that Zoroastrianism does not seem to have developed any particular philosophy. The book repays a careful perusal. In providing the reader with a succinct and lucid account of the essentials of Zoroastrianism, the aims of the General Committee of the Religious Congresses of the World's Congress Auxiliary Committee have been achieved and we have no doubt, as Mr. Modi says, the volume will be of permanent use not only to strangers but to Zoroastrians themselves. The appendices form very instructive reading.

K. S. K.



## Subscriptions & Donations received during the Quarter ending 30th June, 1929.

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2. Memoirs of the Archæological Survey of India, No. 35: Excavations in Baluchistan, 1925: Sampur Mound, Mastung and Sohr Damb, Nāl—by H. Hargreaves.

#### **The Kern Institute, Leiden, Holland—**

Annual Bibliography of Indian Archæology for the year 1927.

#### **Musee Guimet, Paris—**

1. Indologica Pragensia, Vol. I.
2. Revue Des Arts Asiatiques: Numero I.
3. Do. do. do.

#### **The Authors—**

1. Maduvéyō Manéhālō—by A. N. Krishna Rao.
2. Oraon Religion and Customs—by Sarat Chandra Roy.
3. Nitikāvyamanjari—by Rao Bahadur R. Narasimbachar.
4. The Origin of Saivism and its History in the Tamil Land—by K. R. Subramaniam.

#### **Watson Museum, Rajkot—**

Annual Report for the year 1928.

#### **Asiatic Society of Bengal—**

Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. IX, No. 5, pp. 207—356 :  
Geographic and Oceanographic Research in Indian Waters, Part V—  
by R. B. Seymour Sewell.

#### **Smithsonian Institution, Washington—**

Report of the Secretary, 1928.

#### **Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona—**

Epic Studies—by V. S. Sukthankar.

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## EXCHANGES.

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Editors of:—

1. "HINDUSTAN REVIEW," *P.O. Box No. 2139, Calcutta.*
2. "INDIAN ANTIQUARY," *British India Press, Mazagaon, Bombay.*
3. "CEYLON ANTIQUARY," *The "Times of Ceylon", Colombo.*
4. "MODERN REVIEW," *91, Upper Circular Road, Calcutta.*
5. "THE HINDU MESSAGE," *Srirangam.*
6. "WEDNESDAY REVIEW," *Teppakulam, Trichinopoly.*
7. "THE SOUTH INDIAN RESEARCH," *Vepery, Madras.*
8. "THE EASTERN BUDDHIST," *39, Ono Machi, Koyama, Kyoto (Japan).*
9. "THE CHRISTIAN COLLEGE MAGAZINE," *Madras.*
10. "THE EDUCATIONAL REVIEW," *Mount Road, Madras.*
11. "THE VEDIC MAGAZINE," *Gurukula, Kangri, District Bijnor.*
12. "ZEITSCHRIFT DER DEUTSCHEN MORGENLANDISCHEN  
GESELLSCHAFT," *Halle, Germany.*
13. "THE SANSKRIT BHARATHI," *Burdwan, Bengal.*
14. "THE JOURNAL OF THE AMERICAN ORIENTAL SOCIETY,"  
*New Haven, Connecticut, U.S.A.*
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16. "EVERYMAN'S REVIEW," *Madras.*
17. "MAN," *The Royal Anthropological Institute, London.*
18. "DJAWA," *Kanarillaan, Kudipolo, Solo.*
19. "MAN IN INDIA," *Ranchi, B.N.Ry. (India).*
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Outram Road (opposite Hornby Road), Fort, Bombay.*
24. "PRABUDDHA BHARATA," *Adwaita Asrama, Mayavati P.O.,  
Almora Dist.*
25. "THE SHAMA'A," *Aghore Mandir, San Thome, Madras.*
26. "VISHVA-BHARATHI," *10, Cornwallis Street, Calcutta.*
27. "NAVASHAKTI," *Dhartwar.*
28. "THE SHRINE OF WISDOM," *Aahlu, 6, Hermon Hill, London, E. 11*

29. "WELFARE," 91, *Upper Circular Road, Calcutta.*
30. "MYSORE BLUE BOOK AND PUBLICITY JOURNAL," *Bangalore.*
31. "BUDDHIST ANNUAL OF CEYLON," *Colombo.*
32. "KARNATAKA SAHITYA PARISHATPATRIKA," *Bangalore.*
33. "EPIGRAPHIA INDO-MOSLEMICA," *Simla.*
34. "YOGAMIMAMSA," *Kunjavana, Lonavla, Bombay.*
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38. "INDIAN STORY TELLER," 164, *Cornwallis Street, Calcutta.*
39. "THE GUARDIAN," 86, *College Street, Calcutta.*
40. "THE YOUNG MEN OF INDIA," 5, *Russell Street, Calcutta.*
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44. "MYSORE CO-OPERATIVE JOURNAL,"  
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55. "THE INDIAN THINKER," *Anantha Rama Varma Press, Fort, Trivandrum.*
56. "RURAL INDIA," No. 9, *Brodie's Road, Mylapore, Madras.*
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59. "SANATHANA DHARMA SANJIVINI," No. 445, *Kempnananjamba Agrahar, Mysore.*
60. "VISWA-KARNATAKA," *New Tharagupet, Bangalore City.*

61. "THE HUMANIST," *Jayabhavan, Gangathara Chetty Road, Bangalore.*
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The  
Quarterly Journal  
of the  
Mythic Society

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Vol. XX]

OCTOBER, 1929

[No. 2

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THE NINETEENTH ANNUAL MEETING OF THE  
MYTHIC SOCIETY.

*Bangalore, 16th July 1929.*

SIR C. V. RAMAN, KT., D.SC., F.R.S., PALIT PROFESSOR  
OF PHYSICS IN THE CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY,  
*in the Chair.*

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THE Nineteenth Annual Meeting of the Mythic Society was held in the Daly Memorial Hall on Tuesday, the 16th July 1929, at 6-30 P.M., under the distinguished presidency of Sir C. V. Raman, Kt., D.Sc., F.R.S., Palit Professor of Physics in the Calcutta University. A large number of members and visitors, including the Rt. Hon'ble Mr. V. S. Srinivasa Sastry and Rajabhadur Krishnamacharlu of Hyderabad (Deccan) were present on the occasion.

The President of the Society, Rajakaryaprasakta Rao Bahadur Mr. M. Shama Rao, M.A., welcomed Sir C. V. Raman in a short and felicitous speech, in the course of which he referred to the Professor's great achievements in the field of science and offered the congratulations of the members of the Mythic Society to him on the highly coveted distinction of Fellow of the Royal Society and on the Knighthood recently conferred on him.

After thanking the President and members of the Society for their congratulations and for the honour they had done to him in inviting him to preside over their annual meeting, the Chairman proceeded to the business of the evening and called on the Secretary, Mr. S. Srikantaiya, B.A., B.L., M.R.A.S., to read the Annual Report for the year 1928-29, which ran as follows:—

### ANNUAL REPORT.

Your Committee desire to place before you this evening a Report of the Society's activities during the year 1928-29.

**MEMBERSHIP.**—The strength in membership continues to be steady with 550 ordinary members and 40 life-members. The Committee renew their appeal to members to secure more members and to become life-members whenever it might be possible for them to do so.

The Committee deeply regret the Hon'ble Mr. L. M. Crump, C.I.E., I.C.S., author of *Rup Mati*, etc., who was for some time acting British Resident in Mysore and who presided over the last Annual Meeting of the Society at which he delivered a very instructive address, unfortunately passed away during the year, while on leave in England. We also regret to have to record the deaths, during the year, of Dr. S. Amritraj, Health Officer of the Bangalore Civil and Military Station and an old member of the Society, Mr. K. V. Ramaswami Iyengar who helped us with the presentation of a large number of books and donations from time to time, Mr. K. S. Srinivasa Pillay of Tanjore, Mr. C. Rama Rao of Bangalore City and Mr. B. V. Kameswara Iyer of Puducottah, a very valued contributor to the pages of the Journal. We offer our condolences to the bereaved members of their families.

**FINANCE.**—A statement of accounts has been appended to this Report. The opening balance for 1928-29 was Rs. 664-5-0 and the closing balance on the 30th June 1929, Rs. 529-11-6. The Reserve Fund which stood at Rs. 10,450 at the opening of the year, with the additions made thereto, now stands at Rs. 11,150; besides an expenditure of Rs. 547-14-0 has been incurred on furniture.

**AUDIT.**—The accounts of the Society for the year have been audited and the statement of accounts has been checked and certified correct by the Honorary Auditor, Mr. T. M. S. Subramaniam of the Mysore Bank, who is kindly doing the work without any remuneration, and to him our thanks are due.

**MEETINGS.**—At the meetings of the Society, interesting papers were read and the Committee offer their thanks to the lecturers.



**JOURNAL.**—The Journal of the Mythic Society continues to maintain the high standard set to it by its promoters and the Committee are grateful to the contributors who have helped them in their endeavour. Important and valuable papers on matters of absorbing interest are to be found in the pages of the Journal.

**EXCHANGE.**—The exchanges include periodicals, transactions of research institutions, universities, departments of archæology, etc., and of the various administrations in India dealing with the subjects in which the Mythic Society is interested. The number of exchanges as on 30th June 1929 is 98.

**LIBRARY.**—A large number of books has been added to the Library by purchase and by presentations. We are grateful to the various Governments in India including Burma, and the States of Mysore, Hyderabad, Travancore, Kashmir and Baroda, the Oxford University Press, Messrs. D. B. Tara-porevala Sons & Co. of Bombay, the Universities of Madras, Calcutta, Mysore and Dacca and to the various authors and publishers for kindly sending their publications to us. The Department of Public Instruction in Mysore have sent us, during the year, a large number of books, and we desire to express our gratefulness to the Director, Mr. N. S. Subba Rao, M.A., Bar-at-Law.

**READING ROOM.**—The Free Reading Room attached to the Society continues to be popular. Over 70 to 80 excellent periodicals in various languages are placed on the table. The number of visitors during the year was 2,534 as against 3,362 in the previous year, as the Reading Room had to be closed for a period of about four months.

**PREMISES.**—The Daly Memorial Hall and the premises are maintained in good condition. The Hall has been in constant demand for the meetings of various associations. The inaugural session of the Mysore Medical Association was held at the premises of the Society. At the request of the Government, the Hall and grounds were placed at the disposal of the Bangalore Disturbances Enquiry Committee for a period of about four months from the 10th of September to the 22nd of December 1928. On the recommendation of the Committee, the Government were pleased to make a donation of Rs. 200 to the Daly Memorial Hall and the Chairman of the Committee was pleased to give us another sum of Rs. 125 for repairs to furniture, etc. We take this opportunity of thanking the Government and Sir M. Visvesvaraya for these kindnesses shown to us. The Committee are finding it difficult to provide accommodation for the Reading Room and to locate the Library. It is felt that a separate building for the Reading Room and Library is very necessary. In any case, steps will soon have to be taken to provide more accommodation for the Library.

GRANTS.—The grants from the Government of India and the Government of His Highness the Maharaja of Mysore have enabled the Society to make the progress recorded in this Report. We beg to express our gratitude to the Hon'ble the British Resident in Mysore and the Government of His Highness the Maharaja for their generous sympathy and encouragement extended to the Society from time to time.

The Committee congratulate our Vice-Presidents, Mr. C. S. Bala-sundaram Iyer and Mr. C. S. Doraswami Iyer and one of the members of the Committee Mr. K. Matthan on the well-merited distinctions of Rajamantra-pravina, Rajadharmapravina and Rajamantrapravina bestowed respectively upon them by His Highness the Maharaja in recognition of their services to the State. We also congratulate Dr. S. Rama Iyer of Burma on his recently becoming a recipient of the Kaiser-I-Hind Medal.

GENERAL.—The usefulness of the Society is, we are glad to say, becoming increasingly recognised both by the Government and the educated classes, and we have no doubt the interested student will be able to collect materials for a valuable history of the Royal Family of Mysore, of Mysore and of South India.

On Mr. M. Shama Rao's proposing and Mr. K. H. Ramayya's seconding, the Report was adopted.

Rajasabhabhushana Mr. K. Chandy in proposing that Sir C. V. Raman be elected an Honorary Vice-President of the Society, spoke as follows:—

Sir C. V. Raman has not announced the next item on the programme because it refers to himself. The Executive Committee of the Mythic Society have asked me to propose the appointment of Sir C. V. Raman as an Honorary Vice-President of the Society. Sir Raman might be wondering what the distinction is between Honorary Vice-Presidents and non-Honorary ones, who are to be proposed presently; whether the latter, for instance, have to pay for the honour, or are paid by the Society. I can assure him that the distinction, from a financial point of view, is purely mythical.

The real distinction is that the ordinary Vice-Presidents are local people; high officials and other people of eminence with whom it is worth while for the Executive to be on friendly terms; and one or the others, at least one, who might be called an odd jobs man whose function is to move propositions at Annual Meetings and do other odd jobs. The Honorary Vice-Presidents are a select company mostly of people outside, who have achieved great distinction in various fields. The Mythic Society is doing its best to honour such persons. The ordinary Vice-Presidents are elected annually, and have therefore got to be on their good behaviour between the

elections; while the Honorary ones are elected for life. After you are elected, Sir, you are free to act as you like.

The odd jobs man, as you know, is not an expert in any of the jobs that he is asked to undertake. On this occasion, for instance, my knowledge of Physics is the same as that of our venerable President—it is confined to Stewart's primer in the sixth form:—but unlike him, my knowledge of myths is also equally mythical. Yet I have got to propose a most eminent physicist to hold an office in the very learned Mythic Society. I am reminded, Sir, of a pretty legend about your great namesake and a little squirrel. My acquaintance with physics and myths is on a par with that of that squirrel with bridge-building, but my desire to be of help is as sincere.

As Sir Raman is so well known to everyone present here, my task is an easy one. The first outstanding fact in his career is that he gave up a very lucrative job—he might have been Accountant-General now—in the interests of science. He might perhaps have regretted that step at that time; but there is no doubt that he is not regretting it now. In his case the saying in the Book of Proverbs about the pursuit of wisdom has been justified: "Honour and riches are with me, aye, abiding honour and righteousness." He has, as you know, made himself one of the leading men of the world in his subject. The distinction of becoming a Fellow of the Royal Society and a Knight of the Empire when one is only forty years old is unique in India, and possibly in the Empire. I am assured by the head of the department of physics in our University that several of the discoveries of Sir Raman have become current coin in modern text-books. Yesterday, you heard from another savant, about the Raman effect. I can only tell you that the Raman effect *is* the Raman effect. We are aware, Sir, that by your agreeing to be one of our Honorary Vice-Presidents it is the Society that is being honoured.

Those of us, who had the privilege of listening to Sir Raman's lecture yesterday, were struck with the wonderful alertness and progressiveness of his mind and his great enthusiasm. We were also struck with the fact that in addition to personal enthusiasm—a quality shared, for instance, by advertisers of patent medicines, Sir Raman possesses the rare quality of inspiring enthusiasm in his students; and he is always glad to acknowledge merit in them. That, Sir, is not so common a quality, even among savants. We feel assured that Sir Raman and his students, between them, would be able to put India in the forefront of the nations in their particular subject.

My proposal to the members of the Mythic Society to appoint you an Honorary Vice-President, Sir, is hence sure to be accepted with acclamation. I have, however, I imagine, to perform a further duty as odd jobs man;

that is, to resolve doubts that any person might entertain about the connection between physical science and the Mythic Society, justifying your election. Physical science and myths would seem to be poles apart. I hope, however, to be able to prove that the two are really connected. Some fifty or even twenty years ago scientists were putting on airs as the only people who knew things. Recently, however, they have become more humble, and are admitting that several of their old foundations are myths. That is the connection between us and them. I shall mention a few instances without any tremor, as I am in the presence of an adept, who is sure to correct me, in case I should make any slip. I understand that it is impossible yet to find a reconciliation between the corpuscular and the wave theory of light. Some effects are true to one theory and others to the other; it is as if the one is used on Mondays and Wednesdays and the other on Tuesdays and Thursdays. Sir Raman is one of those actively engaged in resolving this seeming inconsistency in the behaviour of light. Again, I am told that after time has been mixed up with matter as an essential ingredient of reality when it is all events, and not the old solid things, they find when they go to ultimates, that they could not fix by any method, the ultimate points of time and of matter or energy instantaneously. One or the other escapes observation. Again, while the great pride of science was its absolute Determinism, it is now admitted that this applies only to averages; and not to each individual. The individual, it seems, has a limited freedom. Scientists, in fact, seem to claim only the Determinism of insurance agents. Again, even as regards the very counters that they use, the foundation bricks, they admit, having to move in a circle which might be termed a vicious circle. If the counters are called A, B, C and D, A has to be explained in terms of B, B of C, C of D and D of A. Thus, I venture to claim, Sir, that while in practical achievements science is far above being a myth and has a great deal to be proud of—for instance yesterday's lecture of the uses of X-ray in industry—as regards the ultimate bases, it is not so radically different from us, and there seems to be a family resemblance.

Finally, both scientists and mythists are engaged in the common task of enlarging the field of knowledge, of finding out the truth, and in the common work there are sure to be connecting links. Let me give an instance: experts of this Society, while digging into the past, constantly come across references to the soul, to unseen things, to spiritual laws inter-related to material laws, etc. Is there nothing in modern physical science to give an answering call to this cry from the past? Take your own special subject of Light. Is it a mere fantastic dream to attempt to find any link between physical light and spiritual light? What is meant by a face 'lighting up'

with joy, or by the spirit in them? Can this lighting up be explained solely by physical laws, or, as the ancients say, is the soul of man itself a light that lightens up the man? Is the phrase used by Jesus:—"I am the light of the world" a purely poetic expression or is it scientific? I am told, Sir, that if a person could manage to travel with a ray of light he could attain a kind of immortality even after the star that sent the ray has become cold. Is this a mere mathematical or physical fantasy, or has it any further significance? Would it be possible for you and your students, descendants of ancient Rishis, who perceived certain aspects of truth by looking within, to prove scientifically some of these assertions? There might be more than the poet's fancy in the statement that we are such stuff that dreams are made on that these actors are all spirits, resolvable into air; then, Sir, there might be a vital connection between spirit and matter and it is up to Indians, the inheritors of a great spiritual civilization, to give the final blow to crass materialism. With these words, I propose the appointment of Sir C. V. Raman, Kt., D.Sc., F.R.S., as an Honorary Vice-President.

The proposition which was ably supported by Mr. B. Puttaiya, B.A., was carried with acclamation. Sir Raman, in accepting, thanked the members in suitable terms.

Professor F. R. Sell, M.A., proposed and Mr. K. Devanathachariar seconded that Mr. M. Shama Rao be re-elected President of the Society for the ensuing year. The proposition was put to vote and carried unanimously.

Mr. P. Subbarama Chetty then proposed and Mr. G. B. Raghavendrachar seconded that the following gentlemen be elected to the respective offices noted against their names, for the year 1929-30. The proposition was put to vote and carried:—

Amin-ul-Mulk Mr. Mirza Mahomed Ismail, B.A., C.I.E., O.B.E.	..	<i>Vice-President.</i>
Rajadharmapravina Dewan Bahadur Mr. K. S. Chandrasekhara Aiyar, B.A., B.L.	..	do.
Rajamantrapravina Dewan Bahadur Mr. P. Raghavendra Rao, B.A., B.L.	..	do.
Rajatantrapravina Sir Brajendranath Seal, Kt., M.A., Ph.D., D.Sc.	..	do.
Mr. K. R. Srinivasa Iyengar, M.A.	..	do.
Rajasabhabhushana Mr. K. Chandy, B.A.	..	do.
Rajamantrapravina Mr. C. S. Balasundaram Iyer, B.A.	..	do.
Rajadharmapravina Mr. C. S. Doraswamy Iyer, B.A., B.L.	..	do.
Rajamantrapravina Mr. K. Matthan, B.A.	..	do.
Mr. S. Srikantaiya, B.A., B.L., M.R.A.S.		<i>General Secretary and Treasurer.</i>
Mr. A. V. Ramanathan, B.A.	..	<i>Joint Secretary.</i>

Prof. F. R. Sell, M.A.	..	<i>Editor.</i>
Mr. K. Devanathachariar, M.A.	..	do.
Mr. C. Hayavadana Rao, B.A., B.L.	..	<i>Branch Secretary for Ethnology.</i>
Rev. Fr. C. Brown, M.A.	..	do. <i>for History.</i>
Mr. B. Puttaiya, B.A.	..	do. <i>for Folk-lore.</i>
Prof. P. Sampat Iyengar, M.A.	..	<i>Member of the Committee.</i>
Praktana Vimarsha Vichakshana		
Rao Bahadur Mr. R. Narasimhachar, M.A., M.R.A.S.		do.
Mr. K. Srinivasa Rao	..	do.
Arthasastra Visharada Dr. R. Shama Sastry,		
B.A., Ph.D., M.R.A.S.	..	do.
Mr. N. S. Subba Rao, M.A., Bar-at-Law	..	do.

### CHAIRMAN'S ADDRESS.

The Chairman rose amidst great applause and delivered an *impromptu* address, which was of absorbing interest and which kept the audience spell-bound for over an hour and a half. The following are extracts from his speech :—

On another occasion I gave expression to a somewhat pessimistic feeling when I said that India was a land of short-lived societies and even short-lived journals. I am glad to find that to-day I stand within the premises of a society that certainly does not deserve the appellation of having short-lived. I should like to mention that this is not the first occasion on which I find myself within the premises of this Society. I was present on the occasion when the Rev. Father Tabard received congratulations when His Highness the Maharaja was pleased to confer upon him the title of "Rajasa-bha-bhushana". I was perfectly impressed by the manner in which speaker after speaker eulogized the services of their then President, to the Society, each one in a different language and a picturesque address, some of which I understood, some of which I felt I was about to understand and some of which I did not understand at all. It was surely an occasion to be remembered and it stands out very clearly indeed in my memory; and it was therefore that I accepted the invitation to come here and deliver a short address.

There is another reason why I felt a real pleasure to be called upon to speak this evening. There is something peculiarly attractive in the name of your Society. I think it was almost a flash of genius in the late Rev. Father Tabard who chose such an intricate name as the Mythic Society for your organization. It is really an intriguing name and to be called upon to speak on a subject suitable to a society bearing such a name is, I think, a kind of subtle distinction to one's versatility and intellectual calibre.

The Society has already weathered the storms that beset every new organization in this country.

You may rightly feel proud of the position which you occupy now. I know by bitter experience myself that the most dangerous kind of rock on which the Indian societies wreck is lack of finance. Your Society is the proud possessor of a beautifully situated hall amidst splendid surroundings. It is the possessor of a valuable library. It is the possessor of what is perhaps even more valuable in an intellectual sphere, a well-organized and regularly conducted publication. As the editor of the *Indian Journal of Physics*, a somewhat similar publication, I know myself how difficult it is to conduct a journal regularly; but I also realize what an unmeasurable service such a publication renders to the cause of intellectual progress.

Every worker, be he one working in the field of mathematics or science, it must be the endeavour of every student to bring the result of his researches to his colleagues both in this country and beyond. To establish and regularly conduct a journal is an achievement of the first rank in the intellectual sphere and I notice with great pleasure that your Journal has already reached into many years, that you had the pleasure of publishing in the fifteenth volume of your Journal an abstract of the contents of your earlier volumes. This, amongst other things, is to my mind, one of the most important contributions that the Mythic Society is making to the cause of intellectual advance both in Mysore and also in the whole of India.

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Proceeding Sir C. V. Raman said: It is my earnest hope that all those who appreciate the long history and activities of the Society will come forward to try and help to place the finances of this Society on a solid foundation by giving it such an endowment worthy of such an institution. A lakh of rupees—or five lakhs—would not be too much for such a society. It came to me as a shock of surprise that such a society should have a reserve fund of only ten thousand rupees. I raise my little voice in the hope that it will reach the ears of those who are in a position to endow the Society with much money. A poor teacher as I am, I would like to announce, as an example, that I shall become a life member of the Society.\*

Mr. Chandy has already tried to indicate to me as to the manner in which I have to perform my duty. It is a matter of some special pride to me that I am not, only a physicist. You, Sir, and Mr. Chandy very kindly referred to the fact that I did not hesitate to give up the services of Government

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\* Sir C. V. Raman became a life member by paying the donation of one hundred rupees.

in order to take up scientific work. The ten years I spent as an officer of the Indian Finance Department, though they form a break between the activities of a university student and a university professor, though they nearly proved disastrous, yet I do not altogether regret these ten years, because they furnished me with a wealth of experience which cannot be gathered inside the four walls of a laboratory. They brought me in contact with men and places. They widened my interests in many fields of thought besides physics.

The objects of the Mythic Society are clearly defined in your publication. It might at first sight seem to be a far cry between the pursuit of the history of Indian civilization and the pursuit of modern science, especially of physics. But before I try to seek a direct connection between these two apparently very different fields of thought, let me say this: that all successful intellectual activity, be it in physics, be it in philosophy, be it in history, ultimately depends upon the attitude of the worker, upon those hidden springs of thought and activity which inspire his labour. Do not imagine for a moment that it is only science that can inspire a man of science to labour in his laboratory. Far from it. To my mind there is nothing so important for the future of the scientific advance in this country than a realization by all scientific workers that we in India have a great heritage which comes down to us from the past. We have a present and a future to look forward to. But you cannot have an active present, you cannot have the possibility of a glorious future, unless you have behind you a confidence of a great past; the confidence that we, as a people, are the inheritors of a great past, that we are called upon to justify the inheritance that has come down to us from generations of our forefathers. That alone would be a justification for the study of the culture of India, for the study of her history. There is no greater argument for the study of the subjects falling within the scope of the Society than the organic relations between a knowledge of the history and culture of the country and the development at the present time and in the future of that culture. We cannot have a future if we did not have a past.

Continuing Sir Raman said: I do not wish to suggest for a moment that we should be content with the past. We should regard the present and the future as more important than the past. But we should not neglect the past. I think it was this feeling that inspired the late Sir Ashutosh Mukerji to develop a school of ancient history and culture at Calcutta. He felt that it was of vital interest for the progress of India, for the realization of our aspirations, to go back and seek for inspiration in the history of the past of India, to find the root of that civilization in order that it might be cherished



and put forth fruits in the future. That, I think, is a real justification for an intensive study of the subjects falling within the scope of the Mythic Society.

The human mind knows no bounds to its interests. When the mathematician seeks for new worlds to conquer, he does not hesitate to go beyond the main field of social subjects and to travel to any dimensional subjects; all kinds of new worlds which exist only in his mind, that he might unravel to the world. Human mind has a supreme duty to seek, to understand the world we live in, to try to trace back to the remotest past, the history of how we are here to-day. These activities are not inspired by a desire for gain. They are not inspired by a desire for honour. They are not inspired by any hope that such knowledge may be of direct benefit to humanity. They are inspired merely by the nature of the human mind to travel where it can, to seek new worlds to conquer. That, I think, is the real spirit of research; and one such field for knowledge is furnished by the history of human civilization. There is nothing so fascinating to a man as to solve the mystery of his existence, the mystery of the development of life in its manifold activities of development, of culture, of knowledge and of intellectual power. Man ever seeks to know himself and he cannot know himself unless he knows the past and the culture of human lives. Such activities have in themselves their own justification. They need no extraneous justification at all.

Proceeding Sir C. V. Raman said that he took a deep interest in any kind of intellectual activity. But one had necessarily to specialize to try and seek some field of knowledge in which, perhaps, he might do better than others. He conceived it to be the duty of every Indian to seek opportunities to come into contact with the living past, for the past lived in the present and in the future. In India, there were many spots which bore traces of a great civilization. When he visited Lahore in 1909 at the invitation of the Punjab University, he made a pilgrimage to the ruins of Taxila, and stood there on the hill tops looking around and saw great evidence of a great past and a glorious civilization. One could not but feel that the past was worthy of being cherished, a past which would inspire every one in his life. Since that day, fresh evidences of India's past had come to be discovered. In this connection, Sir Raman paid a tribute to Mr. R. D. Banerjee of the Benares University, for his researches.

Continuing the learned speaker said that in his work as a physicist, he came into contact with the past of India's civilization. He then stated that he devoted himself for some years to the study of the acoustic properties of musical instruments. Music had an æsthetic appeal. India had a musical

technique peculiarly her own; and her musical instruments were handed down from ancient times. The origin of musical instruments was lost in the remote past. Now-a-days, people had myths regarding the origin of many musical instruments. The speaker read somewhere that Ravana, the mighty king of Lanka, invented the bow. Lord Krishna invented the flute. Veena, tambura and mridanga stood as the supremest musical instruments of India. He then dwelt at length on the acoustic properties of the mridanga and gave an interesting discourse on the subject, saying that he had devoted several years for the study of this particular instrument.

In conclusion, Sir Raman again thanked the President and members of the Society for the honour they had done to him. He proposed that a hearty vote of thanks be conveyed to the General Secretary, Mr. S. Srikantaiya, who was conducting the affairs of the Society exceedingly well, and it was received with acclamation.

The President of the Society added that their thanks were also due to the Curator, Mr. M. Venktesia, who was the right man for the place and who was doing the work very well, which also was accepted by the members.

After a vote of thanks to the distinguished Chairman of the evening proposed by Prof. F. R. Sell, the Meeting concluded with three cheers to His Highness the Maharaja of Mysore and to Sir C. V. Raman.

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# THE MYTHIC SOCIETY, BANGALORE.

## Statement of Receipts and Expenditure for the year 1928-29.

RECEIPTS		AMOUNT	PAYMENTS		AMOUNT
		Rs. A. P.			Rs. A. P.
1. Opening Balance	..	664 5 0	1. Establishment—	..	987 0 0
2. Subscriptions—	..		Pay of the Staff	..	30 11 6
Resident Members	..	350 0 0	Livery ..	..	79 1 0
Mofussil Members	..	588 12 0	Garden ..	..	2 8 0
Life-Members	..	195 0 0	Water Charges	..	141 4 0
3. Grants—	..		Lighting Charges	..	32 15 0
Government of Mysore	..	2,100 0 0	Bicycle Accessories and Repairs	..	
Government of India	..	300 0 0	Journal—	..	1,218 0 0
Recoveries from Staff	..	140 0 0	Printing ..	..	260 9 0
4. Interest and Dividends earned	..	639 6 0	Postage ..	..	
5. Contributions received	..	325 0 0	Library—	..	258 2 0
6. Miscellaneous Receipts	..	349 5 0	Books purchased	..	86 8 0
			Subscriptions to Newspapers	..	49 12 0
			Book-binding Charges	..	
			4. Furniture—	..	478 0 0
			New Furniture purchased	..	69 14 0
			Repairs, etc., to Old Furniture	..	
			5. Investments—	..	1,000 0 0
			Government of Mysore 5% 5 year Fixed Deposits	..	
			6. Miscellaneous—	..	258 0 0
			Advances to Staff, etc.	..	12 0 0
			Subscription to Mysore Horticulture Society	..	157 12 0
			Stationery and Miscellaneous	..	529 11 6
			7. Closing Balance	..	
			TOTAL	..	5,651 12 0

Reserve Fund—		Rs.	Details for Closing Balance—		Rs. A. P.
Mysore State Loan Bonds	..	10,050	In the Bank of Mysore, Ltd., as per Pass Book	336 4 6	
Bank of Mysore Share	..	100	Add bill uncashed	..	175 0 0
Mysore Government Deposits	..	1,000			
			With the Curator	..	511 4 6
			With Branch Secretaries	..	9 0 10
					9 6 2
			TOTAL	..	529 11 6

BANGALORE CITY, }  
1st July 1929.

Certified Correct.  
T. M. S. SUBRAMANIAM.

S. SRIKANTAIAH,  
General Secretary & Treasurer.

## THE ASVINS.

BY DR. R. SHAMA SHASTRY, B.A., PH.D., M.R.A.S.

THE Vedic gods are divided into three classes:—celestial, atmospheric and terrestrial. The Aśvins are regarded as being celestial. It has not, however, been possible to identify them with any known celestial bodies. Prof. Weber took them to be two stars, the twin constellation of Gemini. Prof. Bollensen identified them with the morning star. Prof. Geldner was of opinion that the Aśvins represented no natural phenomenon, but that they might be some succouring saints.

In his *Nirukta* (XII. 5 ; 6 ; 7 ; 8) Yāska mentions four different meanings according to four different schools. According to some they are Dyāvaprithivī (heaven and earth). According to others they are Ahorātra, day and night. A few take them to be Sūrya-Chandramasau, the sun and the moon. The Aitihāsikas or story-tellers say that they are two meritorious kings of old.

Prof. Roth took Yāska to mean by Aśvins Indra and the Sun. Goldstucker was of opinion that by Aśvins Yāska meant the transition from darkness to light, light and darkness being inseparable and dual in their nature. Prof. Macdonnell is of opinion that "the twilight and the morning star theory seems the most probable". In his *Ancient India* (p. 55) Oldenberg went so far as to identify the Aśvins with two Greek mythological horsemen called Dioskuroi.

Such are the differences of opinion held regarding the identification of the Aśvins with what they are meant to connote by the Vedic poets. When even recent developments in thought, such as comparative mythology, philology, ethnology and contemporary history, have been of no service in arriving at a correct interpretation of the Aśvins, a trial to understand them with indigenous aids of interpretations will not be in vain. Such local aids are the Itihāsa and the Purāṇas. Attempt to interpret the Vedas without the aid of the *Mahābhārata*, which is regarded as an Itihāsa, and the Purāṇas is considered as a sacrilege. This idea is stated in the following proverbial verse:—

Itihāsapurāṇābhyām Vedārthamupa brimhayet |  
bibhetyalpa śrutādvēdāh māmayaṃ pratarishyati ||

"One should interpret the Vedas in the light of the Itihāsa and the Purāṇas. The Vedas fear that a man of little learning may misrepresent them."

As hinted in the first half of the above verse, the *Mahābhārata* furnishes some clue to identify the Aśvins. When Upamanyu lost his eyes in

consequence of his eating Arka-leaves, Dhaumya, his teacher, told him to praise the Aśvins with a view to recover his eyes. The verses which Upamanyu sang in praise of the Aśvins are contained in the Âdiparva of the *Mahâbhârata*. As these verses are classed among *dushkara* or difficult verses of the *Mahâbhârata*, Vimalabodhâchârya, one of the commentators on the *dushkara* verses has commented upon them. As these verses together with Vimalabodha's commentary upon them help to settle the meaning of the Aśvins, they are quoted here together with the commentary in full:—

Upamanyuh guruṇâ sarvatah pratishiddhah arkapatrâṇi bhakshayitvâ andhîbhûtah kûpe patitah guruṇâ abhihitah 'Aśvinau stuhi ; tvam chakshush-mantam devabhishajau kartarau' iti | atra aśviśabdena chandrâdityau uchyete : aśvâh rathavodhârah anayoh santi iti, yadvâ aśvâh raśmayah santyanayoh iti, devabhishajau iti | devau cha bhishajau cha, divyâkrîdayuktau | yadvâ divi âkâśe viharatah iti devau | bhishajau iti, ârâdhyamânau sarvaroga-praśamanahetû.

Evamuktah Upamanyuh aśvinau astaushât | Rigbhirvâgbbhiriti Rigarthya-bbhih vâgbbhih | Eteshâm ekâdaśaslokânâm artho vibharâḍityanuvâke driśyate | anena cha lingena aśvinau chandrâdityau uchyete ||

Prapûrvagau pûrvajau chitrabhânû  
girâ vâm śamsâmi tapanâvanantau  
divyau suparṇau virajau vimânau  
adhikshipantau bhuvanâni viśvâ ||

(1)

Praśabdah śamsatinâ sambâdhyate, vyavahitascheti sûtrena praśamsâmi staumi pûrvajau, jagati karmanyappravritte prathamam tayoh pravritteh | udite hi bhagavati vivasvati jagatah snânâdikarmasu pravritteh | somodayecha yoginâm dhyânâdishu pravrittidasânât | lokânâm cha kvachitsamaye vratârthadânâdau pravritteh | pûrvajau viśvaprabodhât, pûrvajâtau | uktam cha—'tatah sûryo jâyate prâtarudayan.' Somo'pi 'navo navo bhavati jâyamânah' iti chitrabhânû chitrâh śuklârûṇâdayah ritukrameṇa bhânava yayostau ||

Vasante kapilah sûryah grîshme kârchana sahhibbah ityâdi.

Ata eva somo'pi kâryavaśât chitrabhânuaḥ âditya bhânava eva some pratiphalitâ driśyante iti bhavah | tapanau taptârau, tapascha lokopakârah | uktam cha |

'Trayastapanti prithivîmannapâh śîtoṣṇavarshairâushadhîh pâlayantah' iti | anantau anantopakâarakau divyaudivibhavau suparṇau subhrâjaviti | supakshau vâ pakshâviva pakshau dakṣiṇodîchyau disau.....virajau vigaturajo-guṇau | salopah chhândasah | vimânau vigatam parimâṇam yayostau | viśvasya pramâṇabhûtau viśvâni bhuvanâni adhikshipantau prerayantau | ṭilopah chhândasah ||

Hiraṇmayau śakunī samparāyau  
 nāsalya dasrau sunāsau vaijayantau  
 śuklam vayantau tarasā suvema  
 adhivyayantavasitam vivasvatah || (2)

Anena kâlatantaratvena stûyete | śuklam sitam asitam vâ ahorâtrarûpam  
 tantram vayantau prâpayantau hiraṇmayau hiraṇmayarathasthau sobhanau vâ |  
 śakunī samarthau lokopakârâya śakunivannabhascharau sâmparâyau ârâdhanât  
 sadyah phaladau nâsalyadasrau asatyau na bhavatah satyâveva satyopapâvanau  
 ityarthah | athavâ prâṇinâm vâ nâsâputâbhyâm vahantau | dasrau darśanîyau  
 sobhanau varṇavikârât sunāsau sobhana nâsikau | âprâtarastam upakâra-  
 siddheh | vaijayantau vijayamânau vivasvatah devân manushyân tarasâ balena |  
 suvema susâdhanau adhivyayantau sarvato bhâvena viśvam raśmibhih vyâpa-  
 yantau | vivasvachhabdo manushyavâchakah nighanṭu siddhah | tau praśam-  
 sâmi ityanvayah ||

Grastâm suparṇasya balena vartikâm  
 amunchatam aśvinau saubhagâya  
 tau vatsavrittâvanamantamaya yau  
 susantamaga aruna udâvahau || (3)

Asyârthah :—Yâvaśvinau suparṇasya śobhanavarṇasya pânasya balena  
 vartikâm grastâm gilitâm âyojanairasuraiah tamobhîrvâ amunchatam balena  
 tejasâ, saubhagâya andhasya saubhagâya siddhyartham | prâtaḥ kâlê chandrâ-  
 dityayoh vartma grasitum sadyah uttishṭhantyasurah âyोजना नामा | te cha  
 adhîtyatejasâ sadyah eva naśyanti | kathametad ? Mantralingât. Âyोजना asurâ  
 mayi no, etc. | tau vatsavrittâu vatsasyeva vrittih yayoh raśmimukhena  
 gorasapânât anamantamaya amo rogaḥ tatpratishedhah | ârogyâya lokânâm  
 arthât susantamâh gâh raśmin vrishtîrvâ udâvahan ūrdhvam âvahatam  
 susantamâh sobhamânâh, aruṇâh rajasvalâh bhumergarbhâdâyakatvât ||

Shashṭhischa gâvah trîsatâścha dhenavah  
 ekam vatsam suvate tam duhanti  
 nânâgoshthâ vihitâ ekadohanâh  
 tâvaśvinau duhantau dharmamuktham || (4)

Idânîm kâlavayava gochâratayâ stûyete :—

Trîsatâh shashṭhiścha ahorâtrâṇi gâvah vâgarthakriyâ kârityât | dhenavah  
 dhayanti âpyâyanti ritukrameṇa jalasampadâdibhih jagaditidhenavah | tâ ekam  
 vatsam samvatsarâkhyam suvate prasavanti | tam vatsam duhanti pûrayanti |  
 shashṭhyadhika trîsatâih ahorâtrâih hi samvatsarah pûryate, nânâgoshthâh  
 uttarâyana dakṣiṇâyana sthânarûpa gosthânasthâh vihitâh raviśâsi-  
 bhyâm kritâh, tâh ekadohanâh ekakâlarûpa eva dohanam sthânam yâsâm |  
 gâvah kâlê duhyante | aśvinau chandrâdityau duhataḥ gopâlavat | kim ?

Kshîrasthânîyam dharmam jalam tamo vâ ukthiyam sobhanam prajopa-  
kâritvât ityarthah ||

Ekam nâbhim saptaśata arâh śritâh  
tathâpare vimśatîrarpitâ arâh  
shaṇṇemi chakram parivartate ajaram  
mâyâśvinau samanakti charshaṇî || (5)

Idânîm kâlachakrarûpeṇa stûyete :—

Ekam nâbhim samvatsararûpam madhyasthatvât nâbhih | tasyâm nâbhau  
saptaśatâh vimśatischa arâh karaṭakâh śritâh | Ahoratre vibhajya vimśatya-  
dhika saptaśata samkhyâ pûraṇîyâ | shaṇṇemi shadritavah, taireva samvatsa-  
rasya pûraṇât | chakramiti kâlachakram | chakrâkâreṇa kâlasya bhramanât |  
mâyâśvinau kapaṭachandrâdityau chakram etat samanakti charshaṇî samyak  
anavaratam charshaṇasîlam tayośchakram ityarthah ||

Ekam chakram vartate dvâdaśâram  
shaṇṇâbhi mekâkshamamritasya dhâma  
yasmin devah adhi viśve vishaktâh  
tâvaśvinau munchato ma vishîdatam || (6)

Idânîm kâlachakra pravartakatvena stûyete :—

Ekam chakram kâlachakram pravartate anavaratam bhramati | ritu-  
mâsâdikrameṇa dvâdaśâram dvâdaśapradhi dvâdaśamâsâram shaṇṇâbhim  
shadritumadhyam, ekâksham eko ravischandro vâ aksho danḍo yasya |  
amritasyadhâma mokshasya sudhâyâ jalasya cha dhâm sthânâh | yasmin  
chakre devâ indrâdayah atha viśve pitirakshakah kâlakâmâdayah vishasûtra  
krameṇa sthitah, tachchakram âśvinau chandrâdityau munchatah pravarta  
yatah | mâ vishidatam mâ vishâdam gachchhatha | etachcha vede bahutaram  
drishṭam vistara bhayânneha paṭhyate ||

Idamamritam vrittamavarshâsu bhûyah  
tirodhattâm âśvinau dâsapatnîh  
bhitvâ meghân sivamudâ charantau  
tadvrîṣṭikarma prathitau balasya || (7)

Samprati vrishtyâdidânena lokopakâarakatvena stûyete :—

Idamamritamudakam vrittam varshâsu pravartitam yuvâbhyâm ânîtam  
avarshâsu śaradâdishu bhûyah atîśayena punarapi sampradâya pravartakatvât  
tirodhattâm vikrîṣṭavantau lokopakârârthameva | tau âśvinau yuvâm śaradâ-  
dishu dâsapatnîrapi tirodhattâm samhritavantau | dâsapatnîh apodâsâh meghâ  
iti vaidikî sanjñâ | tatpâlîṭâh âpah dâsapatnîh | meghân bhitvâ punarapi meghân  
jalavâhakân râsmibhih bhitvâ sivam pâṇîyam udachârantau pravartayatah |  
tâvaśvinau tadvrîṣṭikarmaprathitau iti lokâ viduh | Ayamatrâbhisamdhîh |  
Chandrâdityau hi agnîshomau âdrasushkabhâvena lokamanupraviśya  
charatah ||

Yuvâm diśo janayatho daśāgre  
 samānam mûrdhni rathayānam viyanti  
 tāsām yānān rishayo anuyānti  
 devā manushyāh kshitimācharanti || (8)

Yuvâm aśvinau daśa diśo janayathah, vibhāvayathah, ravichandrau vinā  
 digbhāgasiddheh | samānam ekadhaiva rātrau dine cha mûrdhni sthitau  
 jagatah | tāsām diśām yātam purvādivibhāgam munayah anuyānti, vyava-  
 haranti purvādirupeṇaiva | na kevalam munayah, devāh mānushah kshitimā-  
 charanti, kshitim kshayam karmasamāptim ācharanti ||

Yuvâm varṇān vikurutho viśvarūpan  
 te adhikshiyante bhuvanāni viśvā  
 te bhānavo'pyanusritāscharanti  
 devā manushyāh kshitimācharanti || (9)

Asyārthah:—Yuvâm chandrādityau varṇān nānāvarṇabodhakān raśmīn  
 vikuruthah vividhaprakāreṇa kuruthah, abhīvyanjayatah ritukrameṇa viśva-  
 rūpān jagatah prakāśakān | ye adhikshiyante āpratishtānti bhuvanāni viśvā  
 sarvāṇi, te bhānavah yuvayoratyantam sritāh prasritāh charanti ūrdhvamadhah  
 tiryak | yena devāh manushyāscha kshitim kshayam karmasamāptim  
 ācharanti ||

Yato nāsatyavaśvinavâtmanaishām  
 srajam vachānsi bibhrathah pushkarasya  
 tato nāsatyavamritāvadadharyete  
 devaiḥ tatprapadena sūte || (10)

Yatah prabhriti nāsatyavaśvinau âtmanâ svayameva eshām lokānām  
 pushṭyartham vām yuvām srajam mālām pushkarasya jalasya samūhamiti  
 yāvat, bibhrithah dhārayathah, tatah prabhriti viśvopakāratayâ devaiḥ  
 amritāvityeva avadhāryete kathyete | tatprapadena jaladânâtarameva jagatsūte  
 châturmāsyadishu karmasu pravartate—ityārthah ||

Mukhena garbham labhethām yuvānau  
 gatâsuratra prapadena sūte  
 sadyo jâto mâtaramatti garbham  
 tâvaśvinau munchatho jīvase gāh || (11)

Asyārthah:—Tâvaśvinau mukhena vâyumandāladvāreṇa yuvām labhe-  
 thām âlabhethām garbham jalarūpam | gatâsurapi grīshmatâpâdinâ gataprâṇopi  
 garbham dhritvâ prapadena tatksanameva sūte garbhānnissritya jīvativâ.  
 Sa cha jalarūpo garbhah sadyo jâtaḥ sadyo meghānnissritah mâtaram prithvīm  
 atti prâpnoti | tâvaśvinau yuvām munchathah jīvase jīvanârtham lokānām gāh  
 jalāni garbharūpāṇi anyatra vrishtīriti | vaidika śabdayoh niruktavacha-  
 nopasamkhyāna balena arthanirṇayo bhavati ||



Etattritayamajñâtavadbhih pâṭhântaram gatyantaram kritam. Mayâ Bhoja-Janamejayâcharya—devasvâmi vedanighaṇṭu-vibhrâḍanuvakârthapraya-lochanena ayamarthah kritah ||

A brief purport of the verses and of the commentary is as follows :—

Prevented from eating anything else by his teacher, Upamanyu lived upon the leaves of the Arka-plant and, having thereby lost his eyes, accidentally fell into a well. Having been asked by his teacher to extol the Aśvins for the recovery of his eyes, he began to sing of them as follows :—

I praise you, O Aśvins ; you are early-risers and ancient ; your rays are of various colours. You burn the earth and you are endless. You are celestial and are possessed of wing-like fortnights. You are free from disease and have no measure. In virtue of your benevolent power the worlds continue to live. (1)

*Commentary :—*

Here the word Aśvins means the sun and the moon. Aśvâs are horses yoked to a chariot. Since the sun and the moon have a chariot with horses, they are called Aśvins. Or Aśvâs may mean rays of light which they possess. They are bright and are physicians, because they cure their worshippers of their diseases.

Having been asked by his teacher to praise the Aśvins he began to extol them with Vedic words full of Vedic meaning. The meaning of these verses is explained in the Vibhrâḍ-anuvâka (contained in the *Rigveda*). This is the reason why Aśvins are taken to be identical with the sun and the moon. In the second verse they are praised as markers of time :—

O Aśvins, you are seated on a golden car and are capable of doing good to the world. You reward your worshippers. You are true and agreeable to look at. You weave a white and a black garment with your weaving machine. You pervade the whole universe. (2)

*Commentary :—*

The word Nâsatyau may also mean “residing in the two nostrils”. The rest of the commentary is so clear as to need no translation.

The meaning of the third verse is as follows :—

O Aśvins, with the strength of your drink of beautiful colour, you have recovered your light (from the Asuras called Âyojanas) for the good (of the blind world). You are like calves (in drinking the milk of the earth) and are beyond measure, and free from disease. You have with you the fertile seeds or waters. (3)

In the fourth verse they are praised as being visible in the divisions of time :—

Three hundred and sixty cows bring forth a calf and feed it (with their milk). They have many places arranged for them, but have only one milking. You, Ásvins, milk them (like cowherds their cows). (4)

*Commentary :—*

The 360 cows are days and nights put together. The calf is the year. The summer and winter solstices and the equinoxes, etc., are the various places. The one milking is the raining in the rainy season.

In the fifth verse they are spoken of as a revolving wheel of time :—

There are seven hundred spokes set round an axle and likewise twenty more. This unworn-out wheel containing six naves is ever revolving. The mysterious Ásvins (the sun and the moon) cause the time-wheel to revolve incessantly. (5)

*Commentary :—*

The one axle is the year. The seven hundred and twenty spokes are so many days and nights counted separately. The six naves are the six seasons.

In the sixth verse the Ásvins are described as setting the wheel of time in motion :—

This one wheel with twelve spokes and six naves and one axle is the seat of water and ever revolves. On it stand the gods and the pitris. The Ásvins set it in motion. O people, you need not be anxious. (6)

*Commentary :—*

The one axle is the year and the twelve spokes are the twelve months. The six naves are the six seasons.

In the seventh verse the Ásvins are extolled as doing good to the world by causing it to rain :—

O Ásvins, you hide in the autumn the rain water together with the clouds that had rained in the rainy season. Again you break open the clouds for water. You are thus noted for your glorious work of causing the rains. (7)

The commentary on this verse needs no explanation.

The meaning of the eighth verse is as follows :—

O Ásvins, you reveal to us the ten directions of the compass (both day and night); you stand above us alike. The divisions of the compass the sages know. Both gods and men observe their rites. (8)

The commentary on this is clear.

The meaning of the ninth verse is as follows :—

O Áśvins, you cause your rays to appear in various colours. They pervade the whole universe. They are spread by you. Both gods and men observe their rites. (9)

The commentary on this is clear.

The meaning of the tenth verse is as follows :—

O Áśvins, from the day when you began of your own accord to nourish the world by bearing the garland of water to this day you are known to gods as true and immortal gods. The world produces since then. . (10)

The meaning of the eleventh verse is as follows :—

O Áśvins, you furnish the fertile seed (water) through the atmosphere. The earth, though appearing as destitute of life, receives the seed and brings forth at once. The seed just shown gets into the mother earth. This seed you, Áśvins, supply for the life of the world. (11)

*Commentary :—*

The garbha and gâh here mean rain water. Mâtri (mother) is the earth. Not understanding the verse, some commentators adopted a different reading and interpreted it in their own way. But following Bhoja of Dhâra, Janamejaya-devasvâmi and other commentators, also having referred to Yâska's *Nirukta*, and having well considered the meaning of the Vibhrâḍanuvâka of the *Rigveda*, I have decided the correct meaning of the above verses.

The Vibhrâḍanuvâka referred to by the commentator in support of the identification of the Áśvins with the sun and the moon seems to be the first four verses of Sûkta 171, of the 10th Maṇḍala of the *Rigveda*. In those verses the sun is praised in terms more or less similar to those of the *Mahâ-bhârata* verses.

The earth and heaven (Dyâvâprithivî) with which some early Vedic commentators identified the Áśvins, as stated by Yâska, are not the ordinary terrestrial and celestial worlds. They are the technical or metaphorical terms denoting the summer and the winter solstice. This view is clearly supported by the following passage of the *Taittiriya Brahmana* (III. 10, 4) :—

Divam me yachchha, antariksham me yachchha, prithivîm me yachchha ; Prithivîm me yachchha antariksham me yachchha, divam me yachcha ; ahnâ prasâraya râtryâ samacha râtryâ prasâraya ahnâ samacha.

"Give me the celestial world—give me the atmospheric world—give me the terrestrial world—give me the terrestrial world—give me the atmospheric world—give me the celestial world—expand with the day and contract with the night—expand with the night and contract with the day."

Here the celestial world (dyauh) is the winter solstice with which the days begin to lengthen till they attain their maximum length on the day of summer solstice (the earth). At the same time the nights begin to contract till they attain their minimum shortness on the day of summer solstice. From the summer solstice (prithivî) to the winter solstice (dyauh) the days shorten and the nights lengthen themselves.

Evidently the ahorâtras with which the Aśvins were identified by others must necessarily be the long day of summer solstice and the long night of winter solstice.

Thus differentiating the effect from the cause, some scholars identified the Aśvins with summer and winter solstitial days, while others made no such distinction and identified them with the sun and the moon, the cause of long day and long night.

Hence it may be concluded that by the Aśvins the Vedic poets meant no other celestial bodies than the sun and the moon.

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# STUDIES IN VIJAYANAGARA HISTORY.

BY M. H. RAMA SHARMA, ESQ., M.R.A.S.

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## II. THE EXPLOITS OF KAMPILA AND KUMARA RAMANATHA.

[*Introductory Note*:—The following is a summary of the work “Paradâra-Sôdara-Râmana-Kathe” by the poet Nanjunda. This is the palm-leaf manuscript marked ३१—226 and at present in the Oriental Library at Mysore. In this, the first folio<sup>1</sup> with thirteen verses is lost. At the end on folio 226, the story stops in the middle of verse 69 of *Sandhi* 38 from the beginning or the second *Sandhi* of *Āśvâsa* 10. Nanjunda divides his work into ten *Āśvâsas* and thirty-eight *Sandhis*.<sup>2</sup> The work is written in Kannada characters and in Kannada language. The style is simple, yet graceful. The poet, by his name, appears to be a Śaiva though the name alone cannot be taken as the criterion. From the colophon at the end of every part, where the poet proclaims his ancestry, we learn that he was the son of a certain Mâdhava and grandson of one Vijaya, who were both ministers under the chiefs of Changa-nâdu, to the west of the Mysore district. As usual with most vernacular poets, Nanjunda gives no date for the composition of his work or for the various incidents related therein. But for the word Krishna Raya which occurs in three<sup>3</sup> places in this work, there is nothing in the nature of internal evidence by which his date can be determined. Even this, on closer examination, applies to Srî Kṛishna of the *Mahâbhârata* and not to any mediæval or modern sovereign. With the help of external evidence, Rao Bahadur R. Narasimhachârya has been able to fix this poet's date as c.1525.<sup>4</sup> Thus, though for the present this work cannot be taken as a contemporary production, there is little doubt that this, as well as *Kumâra-Râmana-Sângathya* by Ganga, to be published shortly, have both drawn their materials from an earlier and contemporary work which, as yet, is not known to us.

A literal translation of this work is no easy matter in so far as it is divided into ten *Āśvâsas*, each with three to four *Sandhis*, in all making thirty-seven and a half *Sandhis* with a total number of 4,485 verses.<sup>5</sup> Besides its prohibitive bulk, it is superfluous also, as the poet who deals with the story does it in the old conventional way, with long descriptions of places, persons and

<sup>1</sup> The work is not numbered according to pages in the modern way.

<sup>2</sup> *Āśvâsas* are marked P. (part), *Sandhis* C. (canto), and verses v., in the footnotes.

<sup>3</sup> P. V, C. IV, v. 6; P. III, C. IV, v. 105; P. VIII, C. II, v. 61.

<sup>4</sup> See his *Karnataka Kavicharite*, Vol. I, p. 346.

<sup>5</sup> This is the poet's total; but actually it amounts to 4,472.

minor incidents which are interwoven with the main thread of Râmanâtha's story. Therefore, in order to avoid repetitions and digressions, it has been considered better to summarize the whole work by arranging and presenting it in a form attractive to the modern student of history. In this attempt it has been of necessity decided to drop conversations and arrange the scattered facts under new headings by changing the order of verses a little here and there, as can be seen by references in the footnotes. Otherwise, the sequence of the story is kept up as in the original.]

AFTER invocation to the Hindu deities Tripurârî (Shiva), Śārada and Gaṇapati, the poet pays his homage to the earlier Kannada and Sanskrit poets in the following order :—Paṃpā,<sup>1</sup> Nēmichandra,<sup>2</sup> Janna,<sup>3</sup> Guṇanandi,<sup>4</sup> Guṇavarma<sup>5</sup>, Nāgachandra<sup>6</sup>, Sujanôtamsa,<sup>7</sup> Ranna,<sup>8</sup> Śāntivarma,<sup>9</sup> Hampeya Hariyaṇṇa,<sup>10</sup> Madhura,<sup>11</sup> Bāṇa and Kālidāsa.

#### The Situation of Kummata and Hosadurga.

South of Mēru there was a country called Karnāṭa. It extended from the Kāvēri to the Gôḍavari. In it were Paṃpākshêtra and the river Tunga-bhadra.<sup>12</sup> In the town of Paṃpā there was a fort and the deity Virûpāksha. Close to Paṃpā was a village called Muṃmukhakunda.<sup>13</sup> To the south<sup>14</sup> of the temple of Virûpāksha was Hosamale<sup>15</sup> covered with a forest. In the midst of this forest was the great hill-fort of Hosadurga<sup>16</sup> or Hosamaledurga.<sup>17</sup> Close to this was another town called Kummata<sup>18</sup> or Kummata Durga.<sup>19</sup>

#### Kampila's Ancestry<sup>20</sup> and Family.

Rājādhirāja Râma Deva of Devagiri had four sons, one of whom having married a Pulinda (Bêdar) woman was outcasted. After the capture of Dêvagiri by the Turukās,<sup>21</sup> this outcast sought service under the chief of Chitratûta-durga,<sup>22</sup> who gave him lands for his maintenance, appointing him at the same time in charge of his frontiers. In the family of this refugee prince was

<sup>1</sup> 941 A.D.

<sup>2</sup> circa 1170 A.D.

<sup>3</sup> 1209 A.D.

<sup>4</sup> circa 900 A.D.

<sup>5</sup> Guṇavarma I, circa 1050 A.D.; Guṇavarma II, circa 1235 A.D.

<sup>6</sup> circa 1105 A.D.

<sup>7</sup> circa 1180 A.D.

<sup>8</sup> 993 A.D.

<sup>9</sup> circa 1106 A.D.

<sup>10</sup> circa 1165 A.D.

<sup>11</sup> circa 1385 A.D. Vide *Karnataka Kavicharite*, Vol. I, Contents.

<sup>12</sup> P. VII, C. III, v. 95.

<sup>13</sup> P. I, C. II, v. 77.

<sup>14</sup> P. I, C. IV, v. 1.

<sup>15</sup> P. VII, C. III, v. 51; P. IX, C. III, v. 153.

<sup>16</sup> This must have been at some distance from Kummata as Nanjunda says in P. V, C. III, v. 13 that on Nemi's arrival close to *Heddore* (the Krishna river), Kampila, at the suggestion of Râma, marched to join him near Kummata. See also P. V, C. III, v. 25; P. V, C. IV, v. 77; P. VII, C. II, v. 47; P. IX, C. II, v. 11; P. VIII, C. III, v. 31.

<sup>17</sup> P. IX, C. II, v. 1; also P. IX, C. IV, v. 127.

<sup>18</sup> P. IX, C. IV, v. 127; P. V, C. III, v. 20; P. V, C. III, v. 25; P. X, C. I, v. 45.

<sup>19</sup> P. X, C. I, v. 65.

<sup>20</sup> P. X, C. II, v. 8-18.

<sup>21</sup> This may refer to its first capture in 1294.

<sup>22</sup> This cannot be Chitor, in Mewar, but some south Indian namesake of it,

born Mummadi Singa, whose son<sup>1</sup> was Kampila, also known as Kampa,<sup>2</sup> Kampila Deva<sup>3</sup> and Kampa Rajéndra.<sup>4</sup> He had many queens,<sup>5</sup> of whom Hariharadevi, the eldest, was the queen-consort<sup>6</sup> and Ratnâji<sup>7</sup> the youngest was the favourite. He had, in early life, at least two<sup>8</sup> sons by name Bhairava and Kâṭaṇṇa and one daughter<sup>9</sup> called Mâramma. Of these Bhairava was the heir-apparent.<sup>10</sup> Mâramma was married to Sangama Dêva,<sup>11</sup> usually called Bhâva Sangama or Sangama the brother-in-law. Kampila ruled over Kuntala,<sup>12</sup> with his capital at Hosadurga.<sup>13</sup> He was frequently<sup>14</sup> at war with the Ballâla,<sup>15</sup> the king of Ôragal<sup>16</sup> and the Sultan of Dillî,<sup>17</sup> the last alone being considered of some consequence. He had already become famous by leading expeditions against King Ballâla and Vîra Rudra of Wârangal. The Gajapati king feared him as well.<sup>18</sup> With the capture and demolition of the forts taken by the Sultan of Dillî, even the latter considered him a rival to be counted with.<sup>19</sup> He had many *birudâs* such as *Navalakka-Telugara-ganda*,<sup>20</sup> *Muvvaru-Râyara-ganda*,<sup>21</sup> *Misara-ganda*,<sup>22</sup> *Chelvara-ganda*,<sup>23</sup> *Gajapati-Gaja-Simha*<sup>24</sup> and even *Râjâdhirâja*.<sup>25</sup> He had under him many *Mâṇḍalikas* (governors), *Manneyas* (nobles), *Sâvantas* (vassals), *Danda Nâyakas* (generals) and ministers.<sup>26</sup> Of the last Baichappa was prominent, being the prime minister.<sup>27</sup> Among the captains of his bodyguard, Sâyidêva,<sup>28</sup> Lâyidêva<sup>29</sup> and Mâyidêva<sup>30</sup> were better known.

<sup>1</sup> P. VIII, C. II, v. 6. See Madras Local Records No. 40 for an inscriptional support of this relationship.

<sup>2</sup> P. VI, C. I, v. 8.      <sup>3</sup> P. IX, C. II, v. 78; P. X, C. I, v. 39.

<sup>4</sup> P. V, C. I, v. 2.

<sup>5</sup> P. VII, C. III, v. 13; P. IX, C. II, v. 12. One Bukkâmbike also seems to have been his queen. See P. III, C. I, v. 63.

<sup>6</sup> P. VII, C. II, v. 108.

<sup>7</sup> Also called Ratnângi, P. VI, C. I, v. 21; and Ratni, P. VI, C. I, v. 58.

<sup>8</sup> P. X, C. I, v. 80; P. VI, C. I, v. 88.

<sup>9</sup> Singamma was born after Rama.

<sup>10</sup> P. I, C. V, v. 28.

<sup>11</sup> P. VI, C. I, v. 89, 90.

<sup>12</sup> P. IV, C. III, v. 44; P. V, C. I, v. 56; P. V, C. I, v. 78; P. V, C. I, v. 107.

<sup>13</sup> P. IX, C. II, v. 45.

<sup>14</sup> The poet does not give any details of these early wars; but his repeated statements scattered over many verses and cantos lead us to this conclusion. For his battles with Ballâla III, see Supplementary Volume of *E. C.* for Hassan, p. 131, *E. C.* Vol. VIII, Nagar 19 and *Mysore Archaeological Report* for 1923, p. 119. Copies of inscriptions from the unpublished Supplementary Volume of the *Ep. Carn.*, were kindly supplied to me, by the Director of Archæology, Mysore.

<sup>15</sup> P. II, C. III, v. 64; P. I, C. V, v. 39.

} P. VIII, C. II, v. 12.

<sup>16</sup> P. II, C. III, v. 64; P. I, C. V, v. 39

<sup>17</sup> P. II, C. III, v. 66.

<sup>18</sup> P. II, C. III, v. 70.

<sup>19</sup> P. I, C. V, v. 41.

<sup>22</sup> P. II, C. III, v. 68.

<sup>25</sup> P. III, C. III, v. 5.

<sup>20</sup> P. II, C. III, v. 65.

<sup>23</sup> P. II, C. III, v. 69.

<sup>26</sup> P. VIII, C. I, v. 65.

<sup>21</sup> P. II, C. III, v. 67.

<sup>24</sup> P. II, C. III, v. 70.

<sup>27</sup> P. IX, C. III, v. 148.

<sup>28</sup> P. III, C. II, v. 53; P. IV, C. II, v. 58.

<sup>29</sup> P. IV, C. II, v. 58.

<sup>30</sup> P. IV, C. II, v. 58.

### Prince Ramanatha's Birth and Boyhood.

In spite of all this magnificence of Kāmpila's court, Hariharadēvi was not contented. For many years, she had been longing for a son.<sup>1</sup> At last it pleased God to favour her with one. This was Rāmanātha. About this time, Kāmpila assumed the title of Rāya<sup>2</sup> or king. Rāmanātha was given good education by his father<sup>3</sup> and (some years after) was married to five girls<sup>4</sup> of royal descent. Besides, he was installed as the heir-apparent.<sup>5</sup> He was provided with a bodyguard of thirty horses out of 120,<sup>6</sup> and was soon after joined by the warriors of the earth.

### The Goa Enterprise.

Once, news reached Rāmanātha that there was a horse in Vanāyudēśa,<sup>7</sup> which would not allow to be ridden by any person. It was brought to the south by a merchant. Vīra Rudra's *sahanis* (grooms or cavaliers) and Vīra Ballāla's people had tried to possess it, but without success. A reward of 10,000 *tenkēs* was offered by the Vajīra Mallukās to anyone who would break it. Having heard this, Rāmanātha took up the challenge, and convincing his father that by the help of that horse he could defeat the enemy kings, secured his permission, went to Goa,<sup>8</sup> gave some presents to the lord of that horse and came back with it to Hosadurga.<sup>9</sup>

### The Ballāla War.

The Ballāla kingdom expanded<sup>10</sup> so far, that its frontiers touched those of Kāmpila. Naturally there were frequent<sup>11</sup> conflicts between the subjects of these two kings. Once, Kāmpila Rāya's frontier people having plundered the Hoysala kingdom,<sup>12</sup> trouble began afresh. Rāmanātha, getting the information that some excellent hounds were to be found in an *agrahāra* called Hulihēgu,<sup>13</sup> sent his men to bring them away. But the people in their charge, being Ballāla's subjects, refused to part with them.<sup>14</sup> At this, Rāma himself set out on horseback, and after travelling one night and one day<sup>15</sup> arrived at the place. After besieging and looting it, his men set fire<sup>16</sup> to the

<sup>1</sup> P. II, C. II. Evidently for another, as Kāṭa and Bhairava were already born.

<sup>2</sup> P. II, C. III, v. 52.

<sup>3</sup> P. II, C. III, v. 55.

<sup>4</sup> P. II, C. III, v. 75; also P. IX, C. IV, v. 147.

<sup>5</sup> P. II, C. III, v. 115. We do not know if Bhairava was set aside.

<sup>6</sup> P. II, C. IV, v. 19, 20. The meaning is not clear here.

<sup>7</sup> P. II, C. IV, v. 32.

<sup>8</sup> P. II, C. IV, v. 64.

<sup>9</sup> P. II, C. IV, v. 69.

<sup>10</sup> P. III, C. I, v. 1.

<sup>11</sup> See *Mys. Arch. Report*, p. 119 for 1923 and Supplementary Volumes for Hassan, p. 131 and Mysore p. 52, *E.C.*

<sup>12</sup> P. III, C. I, v. 1.

<sup>13</sup> P. III, C. I, v. 6. This place remains to be identified.

<sup>14</sup> P. III, C. I, v. 23.

<sup>15</sup> P. III, C. I, v. 30. This will make the distance about 100 miles from Hosadurga, Kāmpila's capital.

<sup>16</sup> P. III, C. I, v. 43.



houses, whereupon they all returned home. This news of the destruction of the *agrahāra* enraged Vīra Ballāla. He, therefore, collected the forces of Koṅgu, Koḍagu and Malayāla,<sup>1</sup> and started on his war path against Kāmpila by marching through the Bāgūru Pass.<sup>2</sup> Meanwhile, Kāmpila being informed of this, issued orders to Rāmanātha to collect his forces and prepare for war. In the army, thus mobilized, there were Turuka Rāvutas<sup>3</sup> of Jadeya-gonde, Kannaḍa-Rāya-Rāvutas,<sup>4</sup> Gujjuru-Rāvutas, Gaula-Rāvutas<sup>5</sup> and Sēlada-Rāvutas.<sup>6</sup> Among those captains that led the army were Akkasāleya Chikka (goldsmith), Kārāmjiya Kampa (Kārāmji means fountain), Kolliya Nāga (firebrand), Haḍapada Balluga (privy-purse), Gindiya Lakka (? water-server), Okkaliga Nāgaṇa, Yakkala Rāvuta, Bhandāri Sōmaṇṇa, Sāyidēva, Māyi Dēva,<sup>7</sup> Dēviseṭṭiya Linga (Linga, son of [?] Dēvi Setti), Mādiga Haṃpa, Holeyara Hullā<sup>8</sup> and Telugu Bāchaṇṇa.<sup>9</sup> With these, Kāmpila marched from Ānegondi,<sup>10</sup> followed by his Bēḍar battalions, Rāyapade (household troops) and soldiers of various countries.<sup>11</sup> After advancing through the Bisila-Hallī pass,<sup>12</sup> he encamped at a distance of one *yōjana*<sup>13</sup> from his enemy's army.<sup>14</sup> Before battle, Kāmpila's army consisted of 100,000 foot, 5,000 horse and 100 elephants.<sup>15</sup> These, being divided into divisions, were placed in charge of well-known generals as under :—

	Infantry	Cavalry	Elephants.
Bhāva Sangama Dēva ...	15,000	1,000	30
Anṇa Bhairava Dēva ...	15,000	1,000	30
Kāṭaṇṇa ...	20,000	2,000	50
Bēḍar contingent (perhaps led by Kāmpila in person) ...	10,000	1,000	—
Rāma ...	30,000	3,000	100
Total <sup>16</sup> ...	90,000	8,000	210

<sup>1</sup> P. III, C. II, v. 4.

<sup>2</sup> P. III, C. II, v. 73. This should be close to Bāgoor, in Hosadurga Taluk, Chitaldrug District.

<sup>3</sup> P. III, C. II, v. 20.

<sup>8</sup> P. III, C. II, v. 28, 29, 30.

<sup>4</sup> P. III, C. II, v. 21.

<sup>9</sup> P. III, C. II, v. 55.

<sup>5</sup> P. III, C. II, v. 22.

<sup>10</sup> P. III, C. II, v. 59.

<sup>6</sup> P. III, C. IV, v. 40.

<sup>11</sup> P. III, C. II, v. 72.

<sup>7</sup> P. III, C. II, v. 45-55.

<sup>12</sup> P. III, C. II, v. 59. This place remains to be identified.

<sup>13</sup> The distance varies from 2½ to 9 miles (*Kittel*).

<sup>14</sup> P. III, C. II, v. 75. If the Bāgavāla and Chittanahalli inscriptions refer to the same battle between Kāmpila and Ballāla, the above can be taken to have happened close to Hoḷalkere in the Chitaldrug District and in the year 1303. See *Ep. Car.*, Supplementary Volume, Hassan, pp. 131 and 52.

<sup>15</sup> P. III, C. III, v. 6.

<sup>16</sup> Note the difference between the actual total above and that given by the poet.

Narasinga<sup>1</sup> was the commander-in-chief of the Ballāla forces, which comprised of contingents of Bédars and the cavalry of Turukas, Kannoji, Gujjara and Lāla (? Lāta). On the whole the enemy counted 300,000 foot, 20,000 horse and 400 elephants.<sup>2</sup> The battle beginning, it centred round Kātaṇṇa and Narasinga. Though Kāta received some injury to his arm,<sup>3</sup> maintained a stout resistance. Blood ran in torrents. Hearing this, Kaṁpila sent Saṅgama Deva to his assistance.<sup>4</sup> Soon others also (from Kaṁpila's army) joined him. While the struggle thus raged round the wing led by Kātaṇṇa, Rāmanātha saw the rest of Ballāla-Rāya's forces charging his father. He, therefore, immediately marched to his rescue, whereupon Narasinga turned aside with his Bédar force and dashed against Rāma. Shortly after, Rāmanātha also was surrounded by the enemy. But unyielding, he fought against them putting many to death. At this Maga Hoysaḷa<sup>5</sup> (i.e. Hoysaḷa, son of Ballāla; here meaning Narasinga) severely rebuked his followers (for their cowardice), and gathering them (for the second time), boldly pressed against Rāmanātha. But Rāma got the upper hand once again by killing and wounding many of his enemies.<sup>6</sup> At this turn of fortune, most of the Ballāla soldiers were dis-spirited and the rest took to their heels.<sup>7</sup> When night set in, both the opponents retired to their tents. Meantime Sōma-Daṇḍādhipa<sup>8</sup> and Baicha-Daṇḍāyaka<sup>9</sup> made representations to their respective sovereigns that their mutual enmity, when the Suratrāṇa's<sup>10</sup> forces were ready to pounce upon them, was disastrous to both in the end. Though Rāma was not for peace, through the ministers' mediation saner counsels at last prevailed in the two camps, resulting in a peace, whereupon the opponents returned to their places. Reaching his capital, Kaṁpila handed over the administration of the State to Rāma,<sup>11</sup> himself leading thenceforward an easy life. Thus, to the great joy of his people, Rāma began to rule in obedience to his father's orders.<sup>12</sup>

<sup>1</sup> P. III, C. III, v. 32.

<sup>2</sup> P. III, C. III, v. 38.

<sup>3</sup> P. III, C. IV, v. 1.

<sup>4</sup> P. III, C. IV, v. 20, 21.

<sup>5</sup> P. III, C. III, v. 34.

<sup>6</sup> P. III, C. IV, v. 104, 105.

<sup>7</sup> P. III, C. IV, v. 106; P. VIII, C. II, v. 20; P. VIII, C. II, v. 34; P. IX, C. II, v. 83; P. IX, C. IV, v. 131; P. V, C. I, v. 72.

<sup>8</sup> This person seems to be the same as the brother-in-law (wife's brother) of Ballāla III, who was about this time the governor of Bemmattanakallu, the present Chitaldrug. (See p. 131, Hassan Supplement *E.C.*)

<sup>9</sup> P. III, C. IV, v. 124.

<sup>10</sup> That is, the Sultan of Delhi.

<sup>11</sup> P. IV, C. I, v. 1.

<sup>12</sup> P. IV, C. I, v. 8. This seems, at best, a poetic compliment to Rāma as Kaṁpila continued to take active part in the affairs of the State for many more years.

### The Warangal Invasion.

At Ôragal or Êka- Śilâpura,<sup>1</sup> the ruler was Kâkatiya Vîra Rudra.<sup>2</sup> He had the *birudas* of Kâkati-Vamśa-Śaradhi-Saṃpûrna-Chandrama,<sup>3</sup> Navalakka-Châpâdhîśa and Ayôniĵa.<sup>4</sup> Once Singama of that place accompanied by the Padma Nayakas came to (Kaṃpila's) court, and on his return told (Pratâpa-Rudra) the kind of titles that Râmanâtha was using. At this, especially at the titles of *Telugara-gaṇḍa*,<sup>5</sup> *Muvvaru-Râyara-gaṇḍa*,<sup>6</sup> *Cheluvvara-gaṇḍa* and *Misara-gaṇḍa*, Rudra was offended very much. He, therefore, sent an urgent message to the Padma Nâyakas, and gathering together the chiefs between the sea and the Gôdâvari,<sup>7</sup> started on an expedition<sup>8</sup> against king Kaṃpa, with an army reaching the total of 900,000 foot, 100,000 horse and 100 elephants.<sup>9</sup> Meanwhile, a messenger brought Kaṃpila the news that Kâkati Rudra had invaded his territories<sup>10</sup> and even those who used to pay their tributes to Kaṃpila without grumbling had joined the enemy.<sup>11</sup> On hearing this, Kaṃpila became furious. He soon got down his hill-fort,<sup>12</sup> and with the help of his son, collecting an army of 200,000 foot, 12,000 horse and 400 elephants,<sup>13</sup> marched northwards.<sup>14</sup> When Vîra Rudra learnt this, he was somewhat discouraged; but Râvuta Siṅgama Nâyaka<sup>15</sup> and the princes<sup>16</sup> encouraged him. That night was spent in rejoicings. Next day, when Rudra Déva started to the battlefield, his army was arranged in this fashion<sup>17</sup>:—

		Infantry	Cavalry	Elephants
Siṅgama Narapâla	...	100,000	10,000	200
Râjaputrara <i>pauju</i>				
(The detachment of the princes)	...	100,000	10,000	200
Raddigala Môhara (Reddi troops)	...	200,000	30,000	200
The Padma Nayakas' Contingent	...	200,000	20,000	200
Râya Môhara (Household troops)	...	300,000	30,000	...
Turuka Râvutaru (Turkish cavalry)	...	...	20,000	...
Total <sup>18</sup>	...	900,000	120,000	1,200

<sup>1</sup> P. IV, C. I, v. 104, 105.

<sup>2</sup> P. IV, C. I, v. 8. But in one place, he is called Vîra Bhadra, P. IV, C. II, v. 52.

<sup>3</sup> P. IV, C. I, v. 11.

<sup>4</sup> P. IV, C. I, v. 18, 19. In another place (P. V, C. I, v. 119) the poet calls Rudra as ಕೂಪ್ಪಾಂಡವನೊಡೆದು ಪುಟ್ಟಿದ ರಾಯ (i.e., one who took his birth in a pumpkin). Though this is a little funny, it may yet throw some hint on the mystery of that king's birth, if any.

<sup>5</sup> Champion over the Telugus.

<sup>6</sup> Champion over three kings.

<sup>7</sup> P. IV, C. I, v. 25.

<sup>8</sup> P. IV, C. XIX, v. 18.

<sup>9</sup> P. IV, C. I, v. 22.

<sup>10</sup> P. IV, C. I, v. 25.

<sup>11</sup> P. IV, C. I, v. 33; also P. IV, C. I, v. 26.

<sup>12</sup> P. IV, C. I, v. 34.

<sup>13</sup> P. IV, C. I, v. 93.

<sup>14</sup> P. IV, C. I, v. 59.

<sup>15</sup> P. IV, C. I, v. 66.

<sup>16</sup> P. IV, C. I, v. 69.

<sup>17</sup> See P. IV, C. I, v. 84-88.

<sup>18</sup> Note the difference between the actual total above and that given by the poet.

At the sight of this huge army, Kāmpila lost heart at first. But cheered up by his son (Rāma), who was about 18 years old<sup>1</sup> at that time, he soon rallied and divided his forces under able leaders. Sāyi Déva<sup>2</sup> was ordered to oppose the Redḍi division, Kāṭaṇṇa<sup>3</sup> that of the Padma Nāyakas, Prince Bhairava<sup>4</sup> that of Siṅgama, and Saṅgama Déva that of the (? Kākatīya) princes. Kāmpila and Rāmanātha also took their places in the action. Battle following, the Padma Nāyakas(?) and Redḍis began to run away.<sup>5</sup> At this juncture, the (? Kākatīya) princes<sup>6</sup> sprang forward and surrounded Rāma, while Siṅgama went after Kāmpa.<sup>7</sup> Finding Kāmpa's bodyguards oppose Siṅgama with success, Narasinga,<sup>8</sup> Rāmakumāra<sup>9</sup> and Vikrama Bāhu<sup>10</sup> proceeded to his help. Thus augmented with fresh forces, Siṅgama Nāyaka, in spite of heavy losses, pressed his attack against the Rāya (Kāmpila).<sup>11</sup> Realizing his father's situation, Rāmanātha rushed forward to his rescue. After beating back Siṅgama,<sup>12</sup> he (Rāmanātha) renewed his attack against the (Kākatīya) princes<sup>13</sup> and Vira Rudra, of whom the latter was fighting from the top of his elephant.<sup>14</sup> While this struggle continued in one part of the battlefield, the other generals of Kāmpila, namely Kāṭaṇṇa, Saṅgama Déva, Kolliya Nāga, Miṭina Baṇṭa and Balluga also fought successfully in other places.<sup>15</sup> Thus, after a severe contest, the army of Vira Rudra met with destruction<sup>16</sup> (the victory lying with Kāmpila's army). After this, Rāma returned to his father with the booty.<sup>17</sup> Then, both of them retired to their camp.<sup>18</sup> In the end, peace was made with the usual formalities by Kāmpila's offer of fifty horses as present to Siṅgama Nripati.<sup>19</sup> Early next morning, Kāmpila and his followers returned to their capital.<sup>20</sup>

### The Gajapati War.

The news of the defeat of Kākatīśvara by Kāmpa reached Karipati Kapilēśvara.<sup>21</sup> Finding him stupefied at this, his generals Vidyadhara Pātre,

<sup>1</sup> P. IV, C. II, v. 104.

<sup>2</sup> P. IV, C. I, v. 109.

<sup>3</sup> P. IV, C. I, v. 110.

<sup>4</sup> P. IV, C. I, v. 111.

<sup>5</sup> P. IV, C. II, v. 60. Who this Kākatīya general was, we do not know.

<sup>6</sup> P. IV, C. II, v. 60.

<sup>7</sup> P. IV, C. II, v. 63.

<sup>8</sup> P. IV, C. II, v. 70.

<sup>9</sup> P. IV, C. II, v. 92; P. VIII, C. II, v. 34; P. IX, C. II, v. 82; P. V, C. I, v. 73.

<sup>10</sup> P. IV, C. II, v. 94.

<sup>11</sup> P. IV, C. II, v. 97.

<sup>12</sup> P. IV, C. II, v. 50.

<sup>13</sup> P. IV, C. II, v. 51.

<sup>14</sup> P. IV, C. II, v. 57.

<sup>15</sup> P. IV, C. II, v. 60.

<sup>16</sup> P. IV, C. II, v. 72.

<sup>17</sup> P. IV, C. II, v. 74, 77.

<sup>18</sup> P. IV, C. II, v. 61.

<sup>19</sup> P. IV, C. II, v. 98, 99.

<sup>20</sup> P. IV, C. II, v. 100.

<sup>21</sup> P. IV, C. III, v. 1. Though Rāma's Gajapathi war appears improbable, in the light of existing histories of Orissa, there is no impossibility about this, if by Kapilēśvara the poet means Kapila Narasinga of the Kesari family who, according to Sterling, ruled from 1329-1330. Further researches may give him a little earlier date, when it will agree with the above account.

Harischandra Pâtre, Śiraśchandra Pâtre and Vikrama-Bâhu Pâtre,<sup>1</sup> all promised to try their mettle with Râmanâtha. Encouraged by their words, the Gajapati started on his campaign with his sixteen Pâtres and an army of 700,000 foot, 8,000 horse and 800 elephants.<sup>2</sup> At this news Kâmpila and Râmanâtha also marched with their forces; and after proceeding through the pass,<sup>3</sup> encamped on the outskirts of Penuguṇḍi.<sup>4</sup> Crossing the Krishṇavēni,<sup>5</sup> the Gajapati came and halted at a distance of one *yôjana* from Kâmpila.<sup>6</sup> The battle began with the attack of Kâṭaṇṇa, Saṅgama, Aṇṇa-Bhairava and Râmanâtha<sup>7</sup> on the divisions commanded by Śringâra-Sâmantâ Pâtre and Vâraṇapati respectively. The Gajapati's followers, who tried to surround Râmanâtha, were cut to pieces.<sup>8</sup> The same fate overtook others who tried to surround the other princes of the King of Kuntala.<sup>9</sup> In a short time, Râmanâtha killed Vidyâdhara Pâtre, Harischandra Pâtre, Vikrama-Bâhu Pâtre, Śringâra-Sâmantâ Pâtre, Parâkrama Bâhu Pâtre, Śiraśchandra Pâtre, Vîra Hammîra Pâtre and Dâmôdara Pâtre.<sup>10</sup> At this, Kapilêśvara's army began to retreat.<sup>11</sup> The veterans of Râmanâtha's force pursued them a little and then returned.<sup>12</sup> Thus, having defeated Karipati,<sup>13</sup> Kâmpila and Râmanâtha returned to the capital.

#### The Greatness of the Suritana<sup>14</sup> of Dillî.

Dillî was 12 *yôjanas*<sup>15</sup> in area. Its king Navalakka-Turagâdhipati<sup>16</sup> Suri-tâla ruled over a country, bounded on the north by Himagiri<sup>17</sup> and on the other three sides by the seas.<sup>18</sup> He had 16,000 women in his *zenâna*.<sup>19</sup> His army numbered 900,000 infantry, 70,000 horse and 15,000 elephants.<sup>20</sup> Mungulidêsa<sup>21</sup> was tributary to him. He had thrice invaded the countries<sup>22</sup> of the kings of Gôvardhanâdri, Vandyâchala<sup>23</sup> and Chitrakûta.<sup>24</sup> He had destroyed

<sup>1</sup> P. IV, C. III, v. 8, 10, 11, 13 & 14.

<sup>2</sup> P. IV, C. III, v. 19.

<sup>3</sup> P. IV, C. III, v. 24. Not named.

<sup>4</sup> P. IV, C. III, v. 23. Penugonda in Anantapur District.

<sup>5</sup> P. IV, C. III, v. 20.

<sup>9</sup> P. IV, C. III, v. 44.

<sup>6</sup> P. IV, C. III, v. 26.

<sup>10</sup> P. IV, C. III, v. 54, 55, 56, 57, 58.

<sup>7</sup> P. IV, C. III, v. 31, 32, 33.

<sup>11</sup> P. IV, C. III, v. 59.

<sup>8</sup> P. IV, C. III, v. 35, 36.

<sup>12</sup> P. IV, C. III, v. 60, 61.

<sup>13</sup> P. IV, C. III, v. 62; P. IX, C. IV, v. 132.

<sup>14</sup> By Suritâṇa, that is, the Sultan, it may refer to Allâ-ud-Din Khilji here; but later as the story proceeds, it seems to refer to Mubârak Khilji, Ghias-ud-Din or Muhammad-Bin-Tughlak according to circumstances.

<sup>15</sup> P. V, C. I, v. 6. Between 30 and 108 miles (*Kittel*).

<sup>18</sup> P. V, C. I, v. 18.

<sup>16</sup> P. V, C. II, v. 134. Lord of nine lakhs of horses.

<sup>19</sup> P. V, C. I, v. 22.

<sup>17</sup> The Himalayas.

<sup>20</sup> P. V, C. I, v. 19, 23.

<sup>21</sup> P. V, C. II, v. 3. We do not know to which country the poet refers,

<sup>22</sup> P. V, C. I, v. 76. The meaning is not clear here.

<sup>23</sup> (Sic). Perhaps Vindhyâchala, that is, the Vindhayas,

<sup>24</sup> P. V, C. I, v. 79. Chitor in Râjaputâṇa.

Rāmadēva Rāya,<sup>1</sup> marched against Vīra Rudra,<sup>2</sup> harassed Rāṇa Hammīra<sup>3</sup> and captured the Mānavapati of Dōrasamudra.<sup>4</sup> He had established custom houses in Śingala and had fearlessly planned a campaign against Lanka.<sup>5</sup> He was honoured by the kings of Anga, Kaliṅga, Magadha, Mālava, Kuru, Jāngana, Kīra, Kāśmīra, Vanga, Barbara, Kāmbhōja, Kōśala, Gauḷa, Gūjara, Sindhu, Simhya, Khōṭaka, Nēpāla, Kharpara, Lāla, Hūṇa, Chōla, Kēraḷa, Pāndya and Koṁkana.<sup>6</sup> He had numerous Khāns, Vazīrs and Mallukās (Malliks) under him.<sup>7</sup> Chief among them was Nēmi, also called Nēmi Khān and Nēmi Malluka.<sup>8</sup> This person had brought with him as captive Dēva Rāya, leaving behind Rāma Dēva Rāya of Dēvagiri.<sup>9</sup> Besides, while returning from Rāmēśvara he had taken captive the king of Madhure,<sup>10</sup> leaving behind him his garrison at that place.<sup>11</sup> He was the lord of 1,96,000 horse.<sup>12</sup> He had besieged Raṇatampāṭa<sup>13</sup> for 7 or 8 years and had killed king Rāṇa Hammīra<sup>14</sup> (? in battle). He had put down the vanity of the ruler of Kharpara Dēśa and seized him.<sup>15</sup> When sent against Vīra Rudranapura<sup>16</sup> with 360,000 horse and 6,000 elephants,<sup>17</sup> he passed through various lands, listened to various languages and witnessed various manners and customs<sup>18</sup> before he reached it (Warrangal) and encamped before its walls.<sup>19</sup> In the battle that followed, Vīra Rudra was defeated and captured.<sup>20</sup> After stationing a garrison at Vorugallu he returned to Dillī with Vīra Rudra.<sup>21</sup> Then the

<sup>1</sup> P. V, C. II, v. 139. The king of Dēvagiri.

<sup>2</sup> P. V, C. II, v. 129,

<sup>3</sup> P. V, C. II, v. 140. Possibly Hammīra, the Rāna of Mēwar.

<sup>4</sup> P. V, C. II, v. 140. Veera Ballāja III of Dwārasamudra; this perhaps refers to his capture by Mallik Kāfur in 1310.

<sup>5</sup> P. V, C. I, v. 77.

<sup>6</sup> P. V, C. II, v. 25, 26.

<sup>7</sup> P. V, C. I, v. 21.

<sup>8</sup> The same as Meliquy Neby of Nuniz's chronicle (See *Forgotten Empire*, p. 297). Possibly Mallik Kāfur.

<sup>9</sup> P. V, C. I, v. 24. The meaning is not clear here. For Ramadēva's capture, Ferista gives the date as 1306, Amīr Khusru, as 1307 and Barnī, as 1308.

<sup>10</sup> P. V, C. I, v. 25. This perhaps refers to the events of 1311 A.D.

<sup>11</sup> P. V, C. I, v. 25.

<sup>12</sup> P. VI, C. II, v. 69.

<sup>13</sup> Perhaps Rantambhore; if so, the date of its fall would be 1300.

<sup>14</sup> P. V, C. I, v. 26. Evidently the king of Mēwar and perhaps refers to the first sack of Chitor (Tod. 1290, Ferista 1303). But this statement is incorrect in the light of the *Annals of Rajastan*.

The text reads thus:

ರಣತಂಪಟವನೇಳಿಂಟ್ಟು ನರ್ಸ ಮುತ್ತಿ  
ರಣ ಹಂವಿರ ಭೂವರನ  
ಆಣೆಯೊಳಮರನಗರಿಯನ್ನೈದಿಸಿದನೆನಿ  
ಗಣೆಯೆ ವಿಕ್ರಮರಾರುಂಟು.

<sup>15</sup> P. V, C. I, v. 27.

<sup>17</sup> P. V, C. I, v. 110.

<sup>16</sup> P. V, C. I, v. 105. Ōrgal or Warrangal.

<sup>18</sup> P. V, C. I, v. 108.

<sup>19</sup> P. V, C. I, v. 111.

<sup>20</sup> P. V, C. I, v. 115. This may refer to the events of 1310.

<sup>21</sup> P. V, C. I, v. 117. The Sultan who finally succeeded in this was Muḥammad-bin-Tughlak and the event happened in 1323.

Suritâla (*i.e.*, the Sultân of Delhi), imprisoned the *Kûshmânḍavan odedu-huṭṭida Râya*, the lord of 900,000 warriors.<sup>1</sup> After this Kâkatîya Rudra spent his time in his devotion to Siva.<sup>2</sup>

#### Causes for the Displeasure of the Suritâla.<sup>3</sup>

The Suritâla's daughter having come of age, he tried to find a suitable bridegroom for her. At this time, the fame of Râmanâtha having reached him, he sent some Magadha<sup>4</sup> (?) messengers to Kaṁpila who, on their return, took with them a picture of Râmanâtha. On seeing it, the Suritâla's daughter fell in love with Râma and refused to marry anyone else. Thereupon, her father consoled her, sending at the same time ambassadors to Kaṁpila with the message that he would offer him territories like Bidure, Sagara, Nimbâpura, Jambukhandi and Râchûru,<sup>5</sup> if his son were to accept his daughter's hand in marriage. King Kaṁpa, considering this to be but a trick to enslave him, refused to send his son.<sup>6</sup> On the return of the ambassadors with their message of Kaṁpila's refusal, the Suritâla was much displeased and vowed to take him (Râmanâtha) by force. While matters stood thus, once the Suritâla directed his officers to exhibit their skill in archery in his presence. His test, none could stand except one by name Bâdura.<sup>7</sup> Pleased with him, he appointed him as Malluka<sup>8</sup> and half the territories of the Khâns were also added to his. This displeased the Khâns so much<sup>9</sup> that some of them such as Jalahari Khâna,<sup>10</sup> Abbara Khâna, Kadira Khâna, Jambhâri Babbara Khâna, Dêvarîkka Dabbara Khâna, Mâdhava Khâna, Mumûmura Khâna, Mahamûmâda Khâna, Ambudhi Khâna, Sâluva Kadubidi Khâna, Tumbura Sadiṛṛi Khâna, Rṛidi Khâna, Ambara Khâna, Gangu Ballâla, Ekubilla, Unimmâra Mokadumûmâ Khâna,<sup>11</sup> thought it better to kill him. But Madhura Khâna did not consent to this.<sup>12</sup> On the other hand, he suggested to them a clever plan to get rid of Bâdura. Accordingly, they all went in a body and told the Suritâla that Bâdura Khâna desired to rule over Dillî.<sup>13</sup> At this, the Suritâla getting enraged ordered his execution.<sup>14</sup> Bâdura, on the other hand, being informed by these Khâns that his life was in danger, left Dillî on the next morning and fled to the south.<sup>15</sup> Confirmed

<sup>1</sup> P. V, C. I, v. 123.

<sup>3</sup> This is the Hindu corruption for Sultan.

<sup>2</sup> P. V, C. I, v. 125, 126.

<sup>4</sup> P. V, C. I, v. 44.

<sup>5</sup> P. V, C. I, v. 65, also P. V, C. I, v. 75. All these are within the present Hyderabad State.

<sup>6</sup> P. V, C. I, v. 67.

<sup>7</sup> P. V, C. II, v. 68. Evidently Bahau-ud-Din, the nephew of Muhammad-bin-Tughlak.

<sup>8</sup> P. V, C. II, v. 79.

<sup>9</sup> P. V, C. II, v. 81.

<sup>10</sup> These corrupted forms of Mussalman names yet remain to be identified.

<sup>11</sup> P. V, C. II, v. 88-92.

<sup>13</sup> P. V, C. II, v. 98.

<sup>12</sup> P. V, C. II, v. 92.

<sup>14</sup> P. V, C. II, v. 99.

<sup>15</sup> P. V, C. II, v. 107.

in his suspicions by Bâdura's disappearance,<sup>1</sup> the Suritâla ordered Nêmi Malluka to pursue him with 100,000 cavalry.<sup>2</sup> Overtaking him after a distance of about eight *gâvudâs*,<sup>3</sup> the Dillî forces engaged the fugitive in battle. But the Khân Khâns being defeated,<sup>4</sup> Bâdura crossed the *Heddore*<sup>5</sup> and reached the frontiers of Kâmpila's kingdom. On consultation with his ministers, Kâmpila was advised by them not to give the refugee any shelter as it would displease the Suritâla.<sup>6</sup> But Râmanâtha arguing that it was the duty of a king to give protection to such a person,<sup>7</sup> Kâmpila listened to his appeals and allowed Bâdura to enter<sup>8</sup> (the capital). When this conduct of Kâmpila was reported by the Khâns to the Suritâla,<sup>9</sup> he became furious and ordered Nêmi Khân to besiege Kummaṭa.<sup>10</sup>

#### Nemi's Attack on Kummata.<sup>11</sup>

Thus instructed Nêmi Malluka started against the country of Karnâta, with an army numbering 400,000 horse, 3,000 elephants and 2,000 camels.<sup>12</sup> Passing Mâlava, Magadha, Nêpâla, Gûrjara, Gauḷa and Lâla,<sup>13</sup> he encamped at Bidire.<sup>14</sup> At this news, Kâmpila called for a council of war. In this, Râmanâtha proposed resistance to the invader. The minister (Baichappa) Bâdura, Saṅgama Dêva and Kâṭaṇṇa all agreeing with his views, the king decided that his army should proceed to Kummaṭa and fight against Nêmi.<sup>15</sup> Accordingly Baichappa<sup>16</sup> and Barevanḍa Nâyaka<sup>17</sup> started with an advance guard of Vokkaliga and Bêdar contingents,<sup>18</sup> and encamped in front of Kummaṭa.<sup>19</sup> From that place, Baichappa sent messages to forts like Mudigallu<sup>20</sup> (to prepare for defence). Meantime, Nêmi after destroying the countries of Voregallu, Bâdâmi, Mudigallu and Kopaṇakerige,<sup>21</sup> arrived at *Heddore*.<sup>22</sup> This information reaching Kâmpila,<sup>23</sup> he also set out immediately for Kummaṭa<sup>24</sup> accompanied by Râma and Bâdura.<sup>25</sup> On his arrival there, he

<sup>1</sup> P. V, C. II, v. 109, 113.

<sup>2</sup> P. V, C. II, v. 114.

<sup>3</sup> P. V, C. II, v. 115. Between 80 and 96 miles (*Kittel*).

<sup>4</sup> P. V, C. II, v. 116—128.

<sup>5</sup> P. V, C. II, v. 129. The river Krishna.

<sup>6</sup> P. V, C. II, v. 136.

<sup>7</sup> P. V, C. II, v. 137-145.

<sup>8</sup> P. V, C. II, v. 81.

<sup>9</sup> P. V, C. III, v. 1 and 2.

<sup>10</sup> P. V, C. II, v. 4 and 5.

<sup>11</sup> There is some difficulty in identifying Nêmi with Mallik Kaffur as he is said by Nanjunda to have marched against Kummaṭa after Bâdur Khâna's defeat. According to the Mussalman writers, the Bahauddin incident happened in Muhammad Tughlak's reign when Kaffur was not alive.

<sup>12</sup> P. V, C. III, v. 8.

<sup>14</sup> Bidar of to-day, about 70 miles north-west of Hyderabad.

<sup>15</sup> P. V, C. III, v. 13, 14.

<sup>16</sup> P. V, C. III, v. 20.

<sup>17</sup> P. V, C. III, v. 15.

<sup>22</sup> P. V, C. III, v. 24. The Duree of Nuniz (See *Forgotten Empire*, p. 292).

<sup>23</sup> P. V, C. III, v. 24.

<sup>24</sup> P. V, C. III, v. 25.

<sup>13</sup> P. V, C. III, v. 11.

<sup>18</sup> P. V, C. III, v. 19.

<sup>19</sup> P. V, C. III, v. 20.

<sup>20</sup> P. V, C. III, v. 23.

<sup>21</sup> P. V, C. III, v. 45.

<sup>25</sup> P. V, C. III, v. 41.



consulted with his nobles<sup>1</sup> and settled that Kâṭaṇṇa should be in charge of the first day's battle.<sup>2</sup> Thus ordered, Kâṭa sallied out with 40,000 foot, 4,000 horse and 100 elephants.<sup>3</sup> Among those (captains who went with him) were Haḍapada<sup>4</sup> Balluga, Giṇḍiya Lakka, Munguḍi Singa, Sâvarṇṇa, Sanga, Gaḍiya-Kâvala Kampa, Nalla Gaṁpuga, Narasingu, Vallabha Dêva, Ballida Virû-parṇṇa, Hanuma, Kallukoteya Manga, Jhalli-pilliya Nâga, Malla, Bêdara Perṇma, Bêhina Singa, Bêtegachohada-Harrigeṇya Singa, Sôhina Penna, Hakkiya Singa, Hanumana Bâlada Chemṇna, Kakkaḍada Aubala Dêva, Timma, Chikka, Chaladanka Kâṭa, Kabbala Nâga, Bukkaṇṇa, Balugaiya Timmaṇṇa, Varada, Kolegêdi Mâdiga Hampa, Muppuriya Timma, Dhura-dhîra Vaṁkkiya Kasava, Karadiya Kâṭa, Birudina Sangama, Jayi-jakkeya-Baicha Râya, Hebbuli Kâṭa, Râyana-mechchina Hanuma, Sâyi Dêva, Sangu-baleya Sattigeṇya Boṁmuga, Bôḷa Jumjaiyya, Salugeṇya Baicha, Mallarasa, Kalahalampaṭa Kencha, Bomma, Mâlaiyya, Kuṁchadaṁpuga Ganteṇya Nâga, Ganguga, Chuṁchadaleṇya Lakka, Varada, Kaṁchugârara Tippa, Mukutiya Gaṁgaṇa, Minchina Haṁrigeṇya Kâma, Vokkuṇḍiya Bomma, Bokkasada Aubala, Mikkamanada Chemṇa Chikka, and Ukkaḍadali-paṁḍiṇṇiya Nâgaṇa.<sup>5</sup> In the battle that followed Kâṭaṇṇa killed 7,000<sup>6</sup> of the enemy, returning to his camp with 2,000 horse as booty.<sup>7</sup> Nêmi, on the other hand, becoming dejected spent that whole night in consultation as to the next day's course of action.<sup>8</sup> The day following, he (Nêmi) started with eight detachments of his army, each consisting of 750 elephants, 1,000 horses and 250 camels (?Kharaba Kadamba). With these he launched his attack on Kummaṭa.<sup>9</sup> Meantime, Râma having left Kummaṭa, collected his forces that had scattered over hills and valleys.<sup>10</sup> Aḷiya Mallarasa, Sangama Dêva, Kâṭaṇṇa, Bâdura Khâna and Kali Bhairava Dêva were appointed Nâyaks in command of the different divisions of Kaṁpila's army.<sup>11</sup> When the battle commenced, the kings of Mâlava, Magadha, Puḷinda, Gûrjara, Lâlâ and Hammîra rained their arrows on Râma.<sup>12</sup> Kadibidi Khâna, Kairava Khâna, Dadira Sadirâdi Khâna, Miniya Kâdiṇṇi Khâna, Jalahaṁṇi Khâna, Ambara Khâna, Nâhura Khâna, Mummâra Babbara Khâna and Madhura Dabbara Khâna concentrated their attacks on Râma.<sup>13</sup> The Kaṁnûjîs, the Turukâs and the Khâns pressed upon him from

<sup>1</sup> P. V, C. III, v. 51.

<sup>2</sup> P. V, C. III, v. 76.

<sup>3</sup> P. V, C. III, v. 88.

<sup>4</sup> It is not an easy matter to correctly translate the qualifying word before each proper name. Some of them are nicknames, others professional, the rest being names of parents or places used to distinguish two or more persons of the same name. Only the last word within commas should be taken as the name of a person.

<sup>5</sup> P. V, C. III, v. 78-87.

<sup>8</sup> P. V, C. III, v. 107-113.

<sup>11</sup> P. V, C. IV, v. 1.

<sup>6</sup> P. V, C. III, v. 102.

<sup>9</sup> P. V, C. III, v. 115 and 116.

<sup>12</sup> P. V, C. IV, v. 18.

<sup>7</sup> P. V, C. III, v. 104.

<sup>10</sup> P. V, C. IV, v. 1.

<sup>13</sup> P. V, C. IV, v. 21.

all sides.<sup>1</sup> In spite of this, Râma succeeded in beating back his enemies,<sup>2</sup> who fled in all directions.<sup>3</sup> Once again Nêmi gathered his forces and led the attack on Râma.<sup>4</sup> At this Kâṭaṇṇa came to the help of his brother. Thus overpowered, the Khân Khâns and the Turukâs fled in all directions leaving Nêmi Khân behind.<sup>5</sup> The victorious Râma secured an immense booty in horses, elephants, camels and other valuables and returned to his father.<sup>6</sup> After this, King Kâmpila and his son (Râma) returned to Hosadurga.<sup>7</sup> Nêmi, who followed his beaten soldiers, reached the presence of the Suritâḷa<sup>8</sup> and narrated the story of the disaster. The Suritâḷa felt grieved when he learnt that his whole army was destroyed by a single person like the Hindu Râma.<sup>9</sup> Anyhow, he agreed with Nêmi, that he should never give up his plans against Kummaṭa Durga.<sup>10</sup>

### Rama at the Zenith of his Power.

By this and other successes, Râmanâtha rose to fame and earned such titles as *Gaṇḍara-gaṇḍa*, *Garvitarâya-sarabha-Bhêruṇḍa*, *Chaladanka-Malla*, *Chelvara-gaṇḍa*, *Bhûmiya-Kaligaḷereya*<sup>11</sup> . . . . *Kaliripu-Kuvalaya-Mârtanḍa*, *Ahitagiri-vajradanḍa*, *Uddanḍa-Vikrama*, *Urukirtiranḍa*,<sup>12</sup> *Jaṅguḷikuvarara-gaṇḍa*<sup>13</sup> . . . . . *Navalakka-Telugara-gaṇḍa*,<sup>14</sup> *Bhûmiya-Chelva Kuvarara gaṇḍa*, *Naraṇḍa-Gajapati-Aṣvapati-galembarasugalige-gaṇḍa*<sup>15</sup> . . . . . *Muvvaru-Râyara-gaṇḍa*,<sup>16</sup> *Râjâdhirâja*, *Râja-parameśvara* . . . . *Aṣvapatyâśva Volâya*, *Naraṇḍa-Nararâkshasa-prâya*, *Gajapati-Gaja-Kamthirava* . . . . *Samhyadri-Jayasthambha-pratiṣṭhapanâ-Chârya*,<sup>17</sup> . . . . *Angarâjâmdhakârâmbuja-mitra*, *Vaṅgarâja Vârdhi Vaḍambânala*, *Kaḷingarâja-Kadalivana-Kânana-Kari-Kalabha*, *Magadharâja-Malayânala-Mahôraga*, *Mâla-varâja-Madana-Mahêśvara* . . . . . *Drâviḍa-râja-Dharaṇḍhara-dêva-vallabha*, *Ândhra-râjaraṇmîyânala*, *Pânḍya-râja-payôdhara-purusha-pavamâna*, *Laṭârâja-lalita-latâ-pavitra*, *Bhogarâja-Bhogîśvarahituṇḍika*, *Kâmbhoja-râjâmbuja-pralaya-prâlaya*, *Turushkakula-Janjhâ-Samîraṇa*<sup>18</sup> . . . . *Paravanitâ-Sahôdara* . . . . *Konkaṇa-Kôlâhala*,<sup>19</sup> *Tuḷavadaḷa-uḷakâra*,<sup>20</sup> *Suritâḷa-bala-*

<sup>1</sup> P. V, C. IV, v. 25.

<sup>2</sup> P. V, C. IV, v. 35.

<sup>3</sup> P. V, C. IV, v. 37.

<sup>4</sup> P. V, C. IV, v. 48.

<sup>5</sup> P. V, C. IV, v. 63.

<sup>6</sup> P. V, C. IV, v. 71.

<sup>7</sup> P. V, C. IV, v. 77.

<sup>15</sup> P. IV, C. I, v. 12, 13. Champion over those kings who call themselves Narapati (Ballâḷas), Aṣvapati (Moslems) and Gajapati (Oriya kings).

<sup>16</sup> P. IV, C. I, v. 15.

<sup>17</sup> The planter of the pillar of victory on the Sahyadris (Western Ghats).

<sup>18</sup> The whirlwind to the Turuka race.

<sup>19</sup> The disturber of the tranquillity of Konkana.

<sup>20</sup> The uprooter of the Tuluva army.

<sup>8</sup> P. V, C. IV, v. 83.

<sup>9</sup> P. V, C. IV, v. 84.

<sup>10</sup> P. V, C. IV, v. 85, 86.

<sup>11</sup> P. III, C. III, v. 15, 16.

<sup>12</sup> P. III, C. IV, v. 44.

<sup>13</sup> P. III, C. IV, v. 85.

<sup>14</sup> Champion over nine lakh Telugas.

sûrekâra,<sup>1</sup> Ballâla-bala-balubarṁdikâra,<sup>2</sup> Angarâjâmbônidhi-vaḍabânala, Vaṅga-Nrupâla-Mâtanga, Singa-Kaṭinga-Bhujanga-Vihangêsâ, Tunga Vikrama, Guṇa Saṅga, Lâla-Barṅgâla-Koṁkaṇa-Gauḷa-Gûrjara-Chôla-Barbara-Tauḷa-Turuka-Dhâlîganjada-Ripu-Gajasimha, Raṇadoḷôdi-Jîviparasugaḷa-gaṇḍa,<sup>3</sup> Baṇṇidulu-Râja-Kumârara-Neraviya-gaṇḍa,<sup>4</sup> Misaragaṇḍa, Âṣeḡeyvara-gaṇḍa,<sup>5</sup> Nêmiya-gaṇḍa,<sup>6</sup> Nêmiyanâla-Suritâla-Bhûmipatiya-gaṇḍa,<sup>7</sup> Maḥharipa-maṁṁneyaragaṇḍa, Vîra Rudrana-gaṇḍa<sup>8</sup> and Gaṇḍa-Ballâla-Bhûpatiya.<sup>9</sup>

### The Festival of Pikes.

These titles apart, Râma's recent victory<sup>10</sup> over Nêmi had been followed by feasts and rejoicings in Kâmpîla's capital. Thus Himarutu passed and Surabhimâsa<sup>11</sup> began. With the coming in of the latter came also the festival of pikes. At Kâmpîla's invitation, chiefs from the north, south, east and west all arrived.<sup>12</sup> Among them could be noticed the chief of Râyadurga, Saṁgama Dêva of Udayagiri, Paṁpa Râja of Penugumdi, the son of Timma-Raja of Kopana, Ganga Raja of Gaṇḍikôta, Narahari Kâmpa Râya of Âdavâni, Kâchayya of Gutti, Jâyijakkiya Bimma (? Bomma) of Toragallu, Aṇṇa Bhairava Dêva, Kâṭaṇṇa, Bhâva Saṅgama, Mâyî Dêva, Sâyî Dêva, Dillîya-Khânara-gaṇḍa Kolliya Nâga, Giṇḍiya Lakka, Bantara-gaṇḍa Haḍa pada Balluga, Kâlânjiya Kâmpa, Dêvi-Sattiya Linga, Akkasâleya Chikka, Jhallipilliya Nâga, Bhaṇḍârada Harihara,<sup>13</sup> Bhaṇḍârada Bukkaṁṇa, Kannôji Râvutaru, the Turuka and the Oddiya Râvutas.<sup>14</sup> Among others, Ratnâji, the king's favourite wife, was also looking on the assembled crowd from the palace balcony. She was a lady of doubtful character and was once suspected of unbecoming relationship with Bhairava, Râma's elder brother.<sup>15</sup> It was unfortunate for Râma that her eyes should fall on him. His handsome appearance and noble bearing roused in her breast an unnatural passion. The chiefs went through the formalities as usual and returned home after saluting the pikes.<sup>16</sup> But Ratnâji grew restless with overpowering love, though her handmaid Sangi tried to console her in all sorts of ways. She waited for a favourable occasion to achieve her ends and that came soon.

<sup>1</sup> The plunderer of the Sultan's forces.

<sup>2</sup> The capturer of Ballâla forces.

<sup>3</sup> P. V, C. I, v. 39, 40, 41.

<sup>4</sup> P. VI, C. II, v. 71.

<sup>5</sup> P. VI, C. II, v. 82.

<sup>6</sup> The champion over Nêmi.

<sup>7</sup> P. VI, C. II, v. 85. The champion over the Sultan, the lord of Nêmi.

<sup>8</sup> The victor over Veera Rudra.

<sup>9</sup> P. IX, C. III, v. 73. The victor over king Ballâla.

<sup>10</sup> P. VI, C. I, Pâllavi.

<sup>11</sup> The month of Chaitra.

<sup>12</sup> P. VI, C. I, v. 29.

<sup>13</sup> Note Harihara and Bukka in the service of Kâmpîla.

<sup>14</sup> P. VI, C. I, v. 79-102. Râvuta means horseman or cavalier.

<sup>15</sup> P. VII, C. II, v. 109.

<sup>16</sup> P. VI, C. III, v. 1. It is said that the village folk in Chitaldrug and Bellary districts celebrate a festival called the ṣula-Brahmana-pûje. This may perhaps be the same.

### The Concealment of Ramanatha.

One day, King Kāmpila went out hunting with his Bēdar<sup>1</sup> (Śabarakula) followers. Rāma, being left behind, thought of spending his time in recreation of one kind or other. The first day he went with his friends to the Tunga-bhadra and spent his time in boating.<sup>2</sup> The next, he chose to spend at a ball-play. The ball chosen was a pearl ball which belonged to his grandfather<sup>3</sup> and at that time in the possession of his mother Hariyala Dēvi. Thinking that it would bring evil on her son, she tried to dissuade him from using it, by reminding him that when the Ballāḷa<sup>4</sup> and the kings of Dillī<sup>5</sup> and Oragal<sup>6</sup> were massing their armies to march on Kummaṭa once again,<sup>7</sup> it did not become him, as a prince, to engage himself in such boyish pranks. Instead, she advised him to spend his time in strengthening Kummaṭa which was the main defence for Hosamale.<sup>8</sup> But all her arguments proving ineffectual, she at last gave away the ball to him after advising him not to incur the displeasure of his cousins<sup>9</sup> (ಪಾಯುವರು). With this, Rāma went to the playground behind the queen's palace enclosure<sup>10</sup> in Hosadurga.<sup>11</sup> There he divided his companions composed of Nāyaks, bodyguards and cavalry officers into two parties; Bhāva Sangama Dēva,<sup>12</sup> the followers (? of the sons) of the son-in-law,<sup>13</sup> Mayi Dēva<sup>14</sup> and the new recruits<sup>15</sup> forming the one and himself, his brother princes,<sup>16</sup> the followers of Kāṭaṇṇa<sup>17</sup> and the elders like Haḍapada Balluga forming the other. The game began. After some time the ball fell into Ratnāji's palace. At this Rāma sent Kāṭaṇṇa to fetch it. Ratnāji refused to return it unless Rāma came to take it away. Finding no way out of the difficulty, Rāma went there himself. Taking advantage of his being alone, Ratnāji made him very wicked overtures, telling him that she was first proposed as his bride, but Kāmpila had married her against her will.<sup>18</sup> Shocked at her unnatural infatuation, Rāma drew her attention to the changed condition of their relationship, thus trying to wean her away from her path of turpitude. Unmoved by his arguments, Ratnāji used all her clandestine arts to win him over to her views. But Rāma was adamant. He spurned all her offers of reward and slighted her threats of punishment. At last realizing his situation, he tore himself out of her clutches and escaped from her presence.<sup>19</sup> The disappointed Ratnāji vowed vengeance and only

<sup>1</sup> P. VII, C. III, v. 33.    <sup>2</sup> P. VII, C. III, v. 95-102.    <sup>3</sup> P. VIII, C. II, v. 15. ಮುಮ್ಮಡಿ ಸಿಂಗ.

<sup>4</sup> P. VIII, C. II, v. 21.

<sup>12</sup> P. VIII, C. III, v. 55, 56.

<sup>5</sup> P. VIII, C. II, v. 23.

<sup>13</sup> P. VIII, C. III, v. 58.

<sup>6</sup> P. VIII, C. II, v. 20.

<sup>14</sup> P. VIII, C. III, v. 59.

<sup>7</sup> P. VIII, C. II, v. 22.

<sup>15</sup> P. VIII, C. III, v. 60.

<sup>8</sup> P. VIII, C. II, v. 31.

<sup>16</sup> P. VIII, C. III, v. 58.

<sup>9</sup> P. VIII, C. II, v. 28.

<sup>17</sup> P. VIII, C. III, v. 59.

<sup>10</sup> P. VIII, C. III, v. 1.

<sup>18</sup> P. VII, C. II, v. 118.

<sup>11</sup> P. VIII, C. III, v. 31.

<sup>19</sup> P. VIII, C. IV, v. 151-153

waited for Kāmpila's return. On the latter's arrival, she put on appearances of violence against her and misinterpreted the whole incident, telling him that Rāma, under the excuse of taking the ball, had entered her chamber and tried to ravish her. Further, she added, that when she refused to yield reminding him of his father's punishment, he had defied his powers. Greatly enraged at this alleged conduct of his son, Kāmpila, in accordance with her advice, promised to execute Rāma. Sending for the minister Baichappa, he gave him orders to cut off Rāma's head, together with those of Kāṭa, Dēvi Settiya Linga, Haḍapada Balluga and Kālānjiya Kāmpa.<sup>1</sup> Surprised at such hasty orders against Rāma, whom the minister knew to be perfectly innocent, the latter hesitated to carry the king's wishes into execution. But, being pressed once again by Kāmpila, Baichappa promised to get his head within seven or eight *ghaliges*.<sup>2</sup> He communicated the king's orders to Rāma, at which the latter willingly offered himself to undergo his father's punishment, relating at the same time the true account of his interview with Ratnāji. Again the minister reflected. He knew that there were impending wars with Ballāḷa Rāya,<sup>3</sup> Nēmi<sup>4</sup> and the kings of Ōrugallu.<sup>5</sup> He knew as well, that if Rāma were to die, there would be none to fight against the Turukas. He knew also that with Rāma's death the Musalās (the Mussalmans) would triumph from Sētu to Kêdāra and the Hindu religion would perish.<sup>6</sup> If not the Suritāḷa, the Telugās would enter the town.<sup>7</sup> So he tried to conceal Rāma until an occasion arose to bring him out. Rāma consenting to this, the minister got constructed an underground cell and there concealed the prince and his companions Bhāva Sangama Dēva, Kāṭaṇṇa, Dēvi Settiya Linga, Sāyi Dēva, Haḍapada Balluga, Singa, Kālānjiya Kāmpa, Chikka, Giṇḍiya Lakka, Māyi Dēva and Kolliya Nāga.<sup>8</sup> Having done this he carried in procession their dummy representations along the streets of the capital. Rāma's supposed wives also were burnt with his stump body on the pyre while the real ones were sent to the cell.<sup>9</sup> To Harihara Dēvi alone Baichappa revealed<sup>10</sup> the secret lest it might break her heart.

\*                      \*                      \*                      \*                      \*                      \*

\*                      \*                      \*                      \*                      \*                      \*

[The remaining information, as gathered mostly from the Madras MS., will be published in the next issue.]

<sup>1</sup> P. IX, C. III, v. 9.

<sup>2</sup> One ghalige being equal to 24 minutes (*Kittel*).

<sup>3</sup> P. IX, C. III, v. 18.

<sup>4</sup> P. IX, C. III, v. 18.

<sup>5</sup> P. IX, C. III, v. 18.

<sup>6</sup> P. IX, C. III, v. 154.

<sup>7</sup> P. IX, C. III, v. 155.

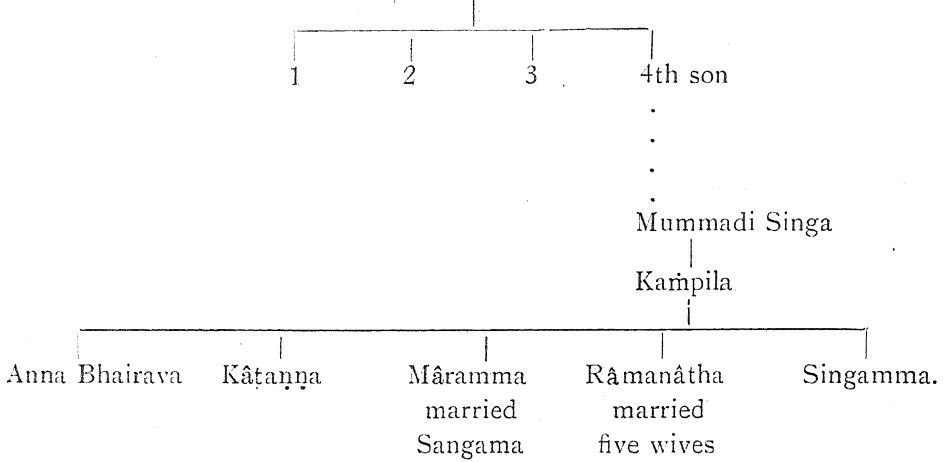
<sup>8</sup> P. IX, C. IV, v. 88, 90.

<sup>9</sup> P. IX, C. IV, v. 155, 156.

<sup>10</sup> P. X, C. I, v. 22.

## GENEALOGICAL TREE OF KAMPILA ACCORDING TO THE POET NANJUNDA.

Râmadêva Râya of Devagiri



This tree is constructed from materials available in Paradâra-Sôdara-Râmana-Kathe. The poet's claim to Mummadi Singa's descent from Râmadêva Râya may after all be fictitious.

## AUSTRIC AND DRAVIDIAN.

By L. V. RAMASWAMI AIYAR, ESQ., M.A., B.L.

ONE of the most remarkable discoveries of recent times, of importance alike to students of linguistics and to workers in the fields of sociology and ethnology, is that of the fact that the Kolarian languages of the north-eastern districts of India (Santālī, Muṇḍārī, Bhumij, Kurku, etc.) are connected with what has been called the Further Indian group of languages (Mon, Khmer, Bahnar, Semang, Senoi, Khasi, etc.), and that, besides, all these languages (described by the collective name *Austro-asiatic*) exhibit many features of affinity to the Austronesian group of languages, spoken in Indonesia, Oceania and Polynesia. Distinguished pioneers like Humboldt, von der Gablentz, Kern and Kühn had pointed out the affinities between the Indian Kolarian dialects and the Further Indian group on the one hand, and also those between the Indonesian and the Malayo-Polynesian on the other. But it remained for the celebrated Viennese linguist and anthropologist, Pater Schmidt<sup>1</sup> not only to establish beyond all doubt the intimacy with which the Indian Kolarian is bound together with the Further Indian group, but also to point out the connection between this collective Austro-asiatic group with the other group known as the Austronesian which lies extended to the south-east from the Malay Peninsula down to the Polynesian islands.

Pater Schmidt's conclusions, so far as the Austro-asiatic group is concerned, have received universal acceptance<sup>2</sup> but his other view regarding the relationship of Austronesian and Austro-asiatic has so far commanded only tentative support, pending the collection and investigation of further data. The material adduced by Schmidt in this connection has been affirmed by scholars to be convincing so far as it goes; but the feeling persists that the same certainty of opinion that is accorded to the inter-connections among the members of the Austro-asiatic group, could arise in reference to the bond

<sup>1</sup> In two learned monographs: *Grundzüge der Lautlehre der Mon-Khmer Sprachen* and *Grundzüge der Lautlehre der Khasi-Sprache*, Pater Schmidt establishes the inter-relationships of the Further Indian languages among themselves and in reference to Kolarian. *Die Mon-Khmer Völker* furnishes further evidence in the same direction and, besides, adumbrates for the first time the theory of the relationship between Austro-asiatic and Austronesian. Twenty years after the publication of this work, in 1926, the learned philologist has re-affirmed his conviction about the relationship of Austronesian and Austro-asiatic in his work: *Die Sprachfamilien und Sprachenkreise der Erde*.

<sup>2</sup> Not that there are lacking sceptics here and there still; *vide* a recent review (of P. O. Bodding's *Santal Folk-Tales*) in OLZ, in the course of which we read:—"Schmidts vielfach als gesichert angenommene these.....wird sich wohl schwer halten lassen, sobald man einmal versuchen wird, beim vergleich über das Zusammenstellen der Wörter hinauszugehen und ihrem sprachgeist beizukommen."

between Austronesian and Austro-Asiatic only after a more detailed investigation than has yet been possible.

Be this as it may, Schmidt's comparisons and lists of correspondences (in phonology, grammar and vocabulary) are sufficient to show that there should have been at least an *intimate mingling* of the Austro-Asiatic and Austronesian stocks.

What emerges clearly from Schmidt's investigations is the existence of an hitherto unknown area of languages and culture which we might describe as Austric<sup>1</sup> (whether the languages are bound together by affinities or whether there has only been mingling). This area lay extended from India on the west to the Polynesian islands.

The two great language-systems of India that lie in immediate proximity to the Indian Austric dialects are Indo-Aryan and Dravidian. The antiquity of Austric in India is indubitable in view of the large number of dialects and sub-dialects showing considerable phonetic and grammatical developments. And if in India for centuries Austric has been lying in close contact with Indo-Aryan and Dravidian, the *à priori* postulate of mutual influence between Austric and Indo-Aryan, and Austric and Dravidian, is not unwarranted. So far as Indo-Aryan was concerned, however, the phenomenal importance associated with the study of the Indo-Aryan languages and cultures obscured to a great extent the aspect of the possibility of Indo-Aryan having been affected by Austric, linguistically or culturally. While it was admitted that Indo-Aryan may have been affected by Dravidian, the possibility of Austric influence was not even thought of. As it was known that the Indian Austric dialects showed a number of Sanskrit borrowings, especially in vocabulary, the presumption tacitly arose that all word-correspondences between Indo-Aryan and Indian Austric were the result of Indo-Aryan loans to these uncultivated dialects.

But when the investigations of Pater Schmidt and others became known and when the antiquity and the importance of this newly-discovered stock were fully sensed,<sup>2</sup> the view that Indo-Aryan should have been the lender in

<sup>1</sup> The use of the term "Austric" is convenient in discussions of mutual influence between the languages of this area and other languages like Sanskrit or Dravidian, even if we consider that Schmidt's theory has not been finally proved. The correspondences shown to be existing between Austro-Asiatic and Austronesian sufficiently justify the use of the term.

Prof. Przyluski, in his articles, uses Austro-asiatic as the equivalent of Austric.

<sup>2</sup> *Vide* Prof. Sylvain Lévi's *Pre-Aryen et Pre-Dravidien dans l'Inde* (*Journal Asiatique*, 1923) and Prof. Jules Bloch's *Sanskrit et Dravidien* (*B. S. L.*, Vol. 24). Prof. Bloch in the latter-mentioned article emphasizes the necessity for a new outlook: "En l'état actuel de nos connaissances, rien ne permet d'affirmer quel'aspect pris par l'aryen dans l'Inde soit dû à son adoption par des populations de langue dravidienne. Si le substrat y est pour quelque chose, ce substrat peut au moins également bien se chercher dans d'autres familles, spécialement la famille Mundā." "



all cases of linguistic correspondence, was felt to be no longer sustainable. Owing, however, to the paucity of scholars who have studied Indo-Aryan and Austric with equal intensiveness, the subject of Austric influence on Indo-Aryan has run the risk of being neglected altogether. But in the course of the last decade, Mons. Jean Przyluski, of the Paris *Ecole des Hautes Etudes*, who had already distinguished himself by his studies of Buddhism, took up this subject of the influence of the Austric languages and culture on Indo-Aryan, and he has in a series of brilliant monographs demonstrated that this influence is beyond all question. In the sphere of vocabulary,<sup>1</sup> M. Przyluski has, after a careful study of the etymologies, shown that the Sanskrit words *kadali*, *kambala*, *śarkara*, *mātaṅga*, *mayūra* (*mayūkha*, *marūkha*), *makuṭa* (*mukuṭa*), *lāṅgala*, *liṅga*, *paṭa* (*karpaṭa*), *bāṇa*, *karṇāsa*, *tāmbūlam* are all AUSTRIC in origin. Similarly, names found in Indian history, like *Śatakarni*, *Śātavāhana*,<sup>2</sup> *Uḍumbara*<sup>3</sup> have been shown to be Austric in origin. In the region of culture and religion,<sup>4</sup> he distinguishes three ethnic *niveaux* in the composite Hindu religion of to-day and points out that one of these is Austric. The sphere of history too has not been neglected. In a recently published monograph,<sup>5</sup> he makes out a very convincing case for the existence in the Punjab of an ancient Austric people, and thus extends the western limits of the Austric-speaking world to the very ends of north-west India.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Emprunts Anaryen en Indo-Aryen* appeared in several instalments in *B. S. L.* (Vols. 24, 25, 26, 28), *M. S. L.* (Vol. 22).

<sup>2</sup> *J. R. A. S.* (April 1929, pages 273-279). The Austric origin of the names of Andhra kings indicates the possibility of Austric peoples and languages having become fairly dominant in the past in the Deccan and the south of India generally.

<sup>3</sup> *Un Ancien Peuple du Penjaub* (*J. A.*, January-March, 1926). In this paper the Uḍumbaras of the Punjab are shown to be an Austric people. Further, the following important suggestions are made:—(a) The conservation of aspirated plosive sonants in Indo-Aryan, till a late stage, as contrasted with their disappearance from the rest of Indo-European may be due to the influence of the Austric substrat; (b) Vocalic intonation in Punjabi may similarly be traced to Austric; (c) The early Indo-Aryans failed to colonise the Upper Punjab, because the non-Aryan Austric peoples remained there and carried on commercial activities which were regarded by the earliest Indo-Aryans with a certain amount of repugnance; (d) Buddhistic propaganda was most effective in this region peopled by the non-Aryan Austrics.

<sup>4</sup> *Totemisme et Vegetarisme dans l'Inde* (in *Revue de l'histoire des Religions*, 1927). The three different elements distinguished by Przyluski in the composite Hindu religion of to-day are:—

(a) The most ancient—Dravidian—vegetalist in character in which offerings of flowers and unguents were offered to God (the system of *Pūja* which has been admitted to be Dravidian in origin); (b) the totemistic worship of the Austric races; (c) the Aryan worship of God through offerings of cooked flesh and the *Soma* liquor.

<sup>5</sup> (*J. A.*, 1926) *Kodumbara* (the name of the ancient Austric colony of the Punjab) = *Ko* (Austric prefix) + *tumba* (a kind of cucurbita) + *ara* (Aryan name-suffix).

<sup>6</sup> Professor Sten-Konow had already pointed in 1904 in *ZDMG* (Vol. LIX, p. 117 ff.) that the Tibeto-Burman languages of the southern valleys of the Himalayas from the Sutlej valley eastwards show traces of the influence of Austric.

The light that Prof. Przyluski's articles collectively shed on Indian history, languages and sociology is sufficient to induce a new perspective in Indological research, by opening new vistas which, we are sure, scholars working in the various fields will not be slow in exploring to their limits.

If, as Prof. Przyluski has so brilliantly shown, the relations of Austric and Indo-Aryan are important enough to bring about altered perspectives in such various fields as history, linguistics, ethnology and anthropology, what indeed prevents us *à priori* from thinking that similar relations (probably mutual in character) might have existed in a pre-historic past (or in a past period of which history is silent) between Dravidian and Austric also? From the Indo-Aryan proximity for generations in the past is granted, a reasonable presumption (from whatsoever standpoint) can be made that the Dravidian-speaking peoples must have remained in contact with the Austric races for a considerably longer period. If so, can we not look for traces of this contact in history, ethnology and languages?

Already, M. Przyluski has suggested that it is possible that certain Dravidian words *might* be Austric in origin. He has pointed out<sup>1</sup> convincingly that the names *Śātavāhana*, *Śālivāhana*, *Śātakarṇi*, etc., of certain ancient potentates of the south are Austric; similarly he has suggested that the ending *kura*<sup>2</sup> of the place-names *vilivāya-kura* (Greek *hippokoura*) are also Austric in origin. Again he has said,<sup>3</sup> "We may suppose that a Dravidian stratum which in primitive times extended from Baluchistan to Deccan and perhaps all over India, was partially replaced by an Austro-Asiatic stratum. The continental Austro-Asiatics should have driven the Dravidians from the plains towards the hills, leaving to them the mountains of Baluchistan and the whole or part of Deccan. This hypothesis appears to me to be the most probable in the present state of our knowledge. If the Dravidians had been sufficiently strong to drive away the Austro-Asiatics,

<sup>1</sup> *Śātakarṇi et hippokoura* (*J.R.A.S.*, April 1929); *Śātakarṇi* (name of the Andhra kings) = Sanskritised *Śātakani* = *Śāta* (< Austric *Sāda*, horse) + *kani* (< Austric protoform *kani*, son).

*Śātavāhana* < *Śātapahan* < Austric *Sāda*, horse + Austric *pahan* with ancient prefix *pa*. Ptolemy's *hippokoura* (capital city) = *hippos*, horse + Austric *kura*, city.

<sup>2</sup> *Noms de ville dans la géographie de Ptolémée*. M. Przyluski's suggestion that Dravidian *ūr* (city, town, village) may have been derived from Austric *kura* with the same meaning, is very interesting. For aught we know, however, the borrowing *may have been* the other way round. M. Przyluski observes that *kura* is very ancient in all Austric dialects. Dravidian *ūr* appears to be no less ancient and common; Dr. *ūr*, further, is intimately connected with the elementary Dravidian radical *ul* (to exist). The relationship between Dr. *ūr* and Austric *kura* is possible; but the question of deciding as to which family is the lender seems to be difficult.

<sup>3</sup> Page 53 of *Un Ancien Peuple du Penjab* (*J.A.*, 1926).

they should undoubtedly have settled down or maintained themselves in the rich valleys of the Indus basin. But, since to-day they are found to the north and to the south of this region, the probability is that they were driven away from the inter-region."

*Pater* W. Schmidt also tells us that so far as general, cultural and linguistic features are concerned, there is presumptive evidence to think that there was mutual influence between Dravidian and Austric. On page 522 of his recent work, *Die Sprachfamilien und Sprachenkreise der Erde*, he says that Dravidian which, according to him, belongs to the southern branch of what he calls the primary speech-sphere, has suffered<sup>1</sup> the influence of Austric (which belongs to the middle branch), in the post-fixing and suffixation of the pronominal subject and in the distinction between the exclusive and the inclusive forms of the first personal pronoun in certain dialects. Conversely, Dravidian, according to *Pater* Schmidt, seems to have been responsible for the prefixation in nouns of the affixless genitive in many of the Indian Austro-Asiatic dialects.

The possibility that Dravidian and Austric may have influenced each other will have already become more or less clear from the foregoing. In what directions, then, could traces of this influence be sought for in the field of linguistics (to limit ourselves to the sphere with which alone I am here concerned)? An adequate investigation into this question could be undertaken only by scholars who have studied Dravidian and Austric alike. Unfortunately, the materials available for an intensive study of the Austric languages are far too scanty, notwithstanding the memorable pioneer work done by Schmidt, Blagden, Brandstetter, Mrs. Milne, Boddington, Maspers and others. Nevertheless, it is possible, with the materials at our command, to take a perspective,<sup>2</sup> tentative and partly conjectural though it may be, of the lines along which students of Dravidian may look out for the influence of Austric. The question as to how far Austric may have been influenced by Dravidian

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<sup>1</sup> I may observe here that *Pater* Schmidt's views about what he calls the *Form-criteria* of linguistic comparison, and their influence on foreign language-systems are open to question for the following two reasons :—

- (a) It is doubtful if these form-criteria have had anything like the fixity attributed to them by *Pater* Schmidt so as to make out their primitive character ;
- (b) The question whether and how far the syntactical features of one language may be replaced by those of another language is quite controversial.

<sup>2</sup> In the discussion of loan-words, it is of course necessary to detach the radicals of Austric words ; but we have to bear in mind that as we have no idea of the chronology of these loans, it is quite possible that in numerous cases Austric words were borrowed with their prefixes and infixes. In view of this fact the point of the criticism made by Brandstetter on page 4 of his *Wurzel und Wort in den IN Sprachen* against Bopp's theory of Skt. *priya* and IN *plih* is somewhat lost.

cannot be dissociated<sup>1</sup> from the discussion of Austric influence on Dravidian; it is difficult to determine the question of lender and borrower, especially in view of the fact that Dravidian studies themselves have not made sufficient progress to enable us to visualize with clearly demarcated boundaries the state of primitive Dravidian. The only thing possible, therefore, in the present state of our limited knowledge is to note possible correspondences of linguistic features without dogmatizing or even probablising on the question as to which family is the lender and which the borrower.

I propose to point out below some of these possible correspondences, reserving further and more detailed discussion for another occasion.

Certain correspondences observable between the Dravidian dialects of Central India (Kurukh, Gōṇḍi, Kūi) and the Austric dialects lying contiguous to these, may at first be noted. It is not clear how far these correspondences are the result of comparatively *recent* influence, arising from the contiguity of areas;<sup>2</sup> there is reason to think that at least in a few cases, the existence of parallel features in the Dravidian dialects of the South precludes the view that these features are in any way peculiar to the Central dialects.

Amongst all these Central Dravidian dialects, Kurukh (about whose Dravidian character there is no doubt at all) seems to show many peculiarities which are common to the neighbouring Austric dialects like Santālī and Muṇḍārī. We shall at first deal with some of these occurring in the regions of phonology and of grammar.

(a) *Phonology*: (i) Kurukh possesses a number of what have been called "checked sounds", as in *ce'on* (I shall give); *bak'lā* (paddy-bird); *ban'nā* (to succeed); etc. The 'check' in Kurukh may occur between two vowels or two consonants, or between a consonant and a vowel. "To all appearances," says Grignard,<sup>3</sup> "its *raison d'être* is to keep open the place of some letter or syllable which has long fallen off from the word." Whatever this may be, the fact of the existence of such "checked sounds" in which a glottal closure is prominent, is peculiar to Kurukh, of all Dravidian languages.

<sup>1</sup> The fact that Austronesian is separated from the Indian borders by a vast distance of several thousands of miles need not stand in the way of the possibility of this language-group having been influenced by the language-systems of India, if we agree with *Pater Schmidt* (page 58 of *Die Mon-Khmer Völker*) in thinking that "aller Wahrscheinlichkeit nach, der Ausgangspunkt ihrer Bewegungen nicht in der Mitte, sondern am äussersten westlichen Ende des ganzen Gebietes zu suchen ist."

<sup>2</sup> The anthropological resemblances between the Dravidian-speaking Kurukhs and the Austric-speaking Kolarians have been noted by scholars. This may be due to the mingling of these two peoples. The question how far Dravidians, as a whole, may be likened anthropologically to the various Austric races is yet a subject of debate.

<sup>3</sup> *A Grammar of the Oraon language* (Calcutta, 1924), page 16.

Now, the checked consonants *k'*, *t'*, *p'* form a common feature of the phonology of the Indian Austric dialects. These have been grouped by *Pater Schmidt* as an intermediary class<sup>1</sup> between the expiratory and the inspiratory occlusives. It is possible that Kurukh adopted the "check" not only for occlusives but also for other sounds.

(ii) The abundance of pure aspirates and aspirated consonants is characteristic of Brāhūi and Kurukh, while the other Dravidian dialects show only very few native instances of the velar aspirate, and no instances at all of the aspirated consonants. Gōṇḍi and Kūi, while they have no aspirated consonants, show the velar aspirate in a number of contexts.

The aspirated consonants are entirely foreign to the Dravidian sound-system, but the question of the occurrence of the pure velar aspirate is a little complicated. This latter sound appears to have developed more or less as a secondary growth in some dialects. How far foreign influence may have helped forward this development, requires investigation. Here we may content ourselves with observing that, while the Tamil *āydam*, Tulu prothetic *h* and Gōṇḍi prothetic, initial and causal *h* cannot be mere borrowings, it is possible that Indo-Aryan or Austric (or both) may have exercised an accelerating influence on the production of these sounds.

Now, Kurukh possesses aspirates and aspirated consonants in profusion. Except Brāhūi and Kurukh, no Dravidian language shows the aspirated consonants: *kh*, *ṭh*, *th*, *ch*, *ph*, *bh*, *gh*, *jh*, *dh*; these occur not only in loan-words but in native forms. Whence could this use and tolerance of aspirated consonants have originated?

Both Indo-Aryan and Austric possess native aspirated consonants. In view of the fact that Gōṇḍi and Kūi, which have come as much under the influence of Indo-Aryan as Kurukh itself, do not show aspirated consonants, it is probable that the abundance in Kurukh of these sounds is ascribable to the influence of the Indian Austric dialects.

(iii) The preservation of the unvoiced value of intervocal plosives and fricatives is quite common in the Central and North Dravidian dialects. My own impression (which I have given elsewhere) is that these dialects have maintained, with varying degrees of change, the pure unvoiced sounds of ancient Dravidian.

Both Austric and Indo-Aryan use unvoiced sounds intervocally. The alternation of the sonant for the surd in intervocal positions, so universally characteristic of Tamil and, in a lesser degree, of Telugu and Kannaḍa, is unknown to the Austric dialects except in a few instances, while the weakening of the intervocal surds to sonants is not entirely foreign to middle

<sup>1</sup> *Les Sons du Langage*, page 101.

and new Indo-Aryan. Could the Austric dialects have had any accessory influence in the preservation by the Central Dravidian dialects of the intervocal unvoiced consonants in native words and forms?

(iv) Nasalized vowels and diphthongs, and nasals generally, form a characteristic of middle and new Indo-Aryan, of Austric, and of Dravidian. How far there has been mutual influence in the development of these, in the above-mentioned languages, is a subject well worthy of investigation. Of course, it is possible that the sounds may have independently become prominent in each of these groups of languages; but the frequency with which they are maintained in some may point to a certain degree of influence<sup>1</sup> exercised by one or more of these over the others.

(b) *Grammar*: (i) The inflexional terminations of the Central Dravidian dialects are mostly characteristically Dravidian and are totally different from the Indian Austric endings.

Nevertheless, the following may be compared:—

Austric plural ending *-ko* and Dravidian *-kol*, *-ko*, *-ga*, etc.

Kurukh and Kūi *-rai*, *-dai* (from) and Austric *-rai* (in, into, from).

Kurukh genitive *-gahi* and Santāli *-gahi*.

(ii) Infixes are a common characteristic of Austric for the formation of grammatical categories. If the Indian Kolarian dialects alone are considered, the following are common; *-r* indicative of mutuality; *-l* showing causality; *-p* signifying collectivity.

Compare the use of the particle *-l-* as an infix in the formation of the Kurukh present tense, e.g., *es-l-d-an* (I break). Similarly, the use of *-r-* as a middle-passive affix in Kurukh provokes comparison with the infix *-r-* of Austric which, according to *Pater Schmidt*, induce the ideas of *untereinander*, *durcheinander*, *verworren*,—meanings which are directly connected with the middle-reflexive significations produced by the Kurukh particle *-r-*.

It may also be noted here that, in *Pater Schmidt's* view, the period of prefixation and infixation should have been preceded by a period of suffixation; though the suffixes have to-day become indissolubly amalgamated with the stems, some of these have been detached by *Pater Schmidt* and they appear to be more or less the same as those that were later employed as prefixes and infixes (p. 54 of *Mon-Khmer Völker*.)

(To be Continued.)

<sup>1</sup> Compare the spontaneous nasals *ñ*, *n*, *ṇ* and *ṇ* of Dravidian with similar spontaneous nasals in the Santāli dialect of Austric, e.g., *indi* and *idi* (to take away), etc. Vide P. O. Boddling's *Materials for a Santāli Grammar* (page 117).

For other minor correspondences in phonology, we may note here the production of the prothetic *Anschlag*: *y* and *v* in Austric and Dravidian, the change of *v* to *m* in both Dravidian and Indian Austric.

# PRE-HISTORIC ARCHÆOLOGY IN KERALA.

BY L. A. KRISHNA IYER, ESQ., M.A., M.R.A.S.

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## CHAPTER I.

### Introduction.

ARCHAEOLOGY in Kerala still remains a virgin field for research. A knowledge of geology, palæo-zoology, palæo-botany and climatology is a desideratum for a proper understanding of human evolution, for the complexity of the causes necessitates a diversity of knowledge. The paucity of archæological research in Kerala is due to the absence of trained workers. Since Kerala forms part of wider India, it cannot be completely unhinged from the latter for a proper treatment of the subject. The writer proposes to deal with the pre-historic archæology of Kerala and it will be in the fitness of things if the scope of the study were defined first.

### Pre-historic Archæology.

*Scope of Study.*—Pre-historic archæology, according to one scholar, is the science of antiquities previous to the earliest human documents.<sup>1</sup> This definition is not widely accepted as it takes stock only of countries which possessed documentary evidence for centuries and leaves out of account those primitive peoples, who, up to our own days, have lived outside history. It should, therefore, include all peoples and all those questions of men's existence of which written documents by the peoples concerned are wanting. In the words of J. DeMorgan, it applies to the most remote as to contemporary times, for it is impossible to dissociate ethnography, *i.e.*, the study of modern homogeneous groups from that of peoples of whom classical writers speak or from the study of men known to us by the traces they have left, men whose name is lost to posterity. In short, it will be more precise to state that the study of archæological pre-history deals with peoples who have not bequeathed their annals. Here ethnography merges with pre-historic archæology since it begins with history.

It may not be out of place to point out that the pre-historic branch of ethnographic studies began as a French science. The archæology of the pre-historic remained a mere sub-division of ethnography until it was perceived by the aid of geology that traces of man in the alluvium, in caverns and in soils contribute materials of great importance to the study of origins. Thanks to the researches of M. Boule, Tournal and Abbé Breuil, evidences multiplied,

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<sup>1</sup> Jaques De Morgan : *Pre-historic Man*, p. 22.

though the thinking world was at first incredulous. This was followed by the admirable work of Lyell, Christy and Evans in England while the traces of pre-historic man and his culture have been unearthed in India during the last fifty years. It is my endeavour to sift from the scrap-heap of information about the pre-historic antiquities of Kerala, sauce it with my own observations, and with the aid of ethnology arrange them on the basis of European methods. My endeavour shall be to retell the history of human progress of the earliest man in Kerala in the light of developments in Europe. Fergusson treated a part of the subject in his "Rude Monuments of all Countries", while Logan made a survey of the "Old Chipped Stones of India". As head of the Geological Survey of India, Bruce Foote was the first to make a notable contribution by the publication of his "Pre-historic Antiquities". Thus the science which was born in France has spread to every continent.

## CHAPTER II.

### Pre-historic Archæology in Kerala.

The pre-historic archæological survey of Travancore and Cochin on scientific lines remains yet an untrodden field. We first get an imperfect glimpse of the remote past from Ward and Conner who stated that "there is no monument deserving particular notice". The Pandukuzhies or Barrows, those remains of primeval customs so common throughout the Peninsula, are also found here though they are not so numerous. In one opened by me at Chokkanad there was found a large earthen jar containing a few rice husks.<sup>1</sup> "Rude stone pillars, menhirs have been discovered in parts of North Travancore. When the Varkala tunnel was bored, old pots, human skeletons were found. These remains indicate that the tracts were inhabited by the same race of men that constructed the Pandukuzhies of the adjoining British tracts. The absence of any implements associated with such burial places probably indicate their antiquity."<sup>2</sup> Dr. Caldwell, who saw personally some urns in Tinnevely and Madura, is of opinion that the unknown people must have lived in villages. They were also a comparatively civilized people. Coming to more modern times, we find Rao Bahadur L. K. Ananthakrishna Iyer has published his valuable research in archæology in the Cochin State in the *South Indian Oriental Encyclopædia*, while the present writer has made some contributions on some aspects of megalithic culture in Travancore.

The study of primitive people living in our own day and thus coming within the range of modern pre-history is extremely useful in helping us to an understanding of the customs of the earliest inhabitants of our land. Like the Veddas of Ceylon, the Hill Pandarams of Travancore afford us a ready

<sup>1</sup> Ward and Conner : *Memoirs of Travancore Survey*, p. 19.

<sup>2</sup> *Travancore State Manual*, by V. Nagamiah.



example. Their customs bespeak a people devoting little thought to their subsistence, which nature provided in abundance. Their dwellings are of the simplest character, being rock-shelters or break-winds resting on a junglewood post or small huts made of junglewood posts and wild plantain leaves. Weapons they have none, but the digging spud. They live by hunting or on tubers which they find in the jungle. The dead are buried where they die. They illustrate the gradual disappearance of a people without leaving any archæological trace.

#### Palæolithic Man.

The occurrence of rock played an important part in the selection of sites for habitation by palæolithic man and we find thicker settlements in South India than in North India. It is in the river districts of South India that palæolithic man is traced most often exhibiting various stages of culture. The Billa-Surgam caves of Karnul offer us a sure proof of very early palæolithic cave-dwellers in South India. It appears to have been resorted to from very early times to neolithic times by a race who were mighty hunters like the Hill Pandarams of Travancore.<sup>1</sup> We have so far no evidence of palæolithic man or his industry in Kerala.

The palæolithic passed into neolithic in South India, which became the emanating centre of the later neolithic culture over other parts of India. Throughout the world we see a number of innovations emanating with neolithic industry. This phase of development of human intelligence opened up the real high road to progress. Travancore and Cochin teem with monuments<sup>2</sup> to illustrate this phase of culture.

### CHAPTER III.

#### Neolithic Monuments in Travancore.

One principal feature which seems to have swayed in the minds of man during the palæolithic and neolithic epochs is respect for the dead, implying a belief in after-life. The most interesting aspect of neolithic life lay in the rituals of the dead which consisted in the raising of works of rough stone over the dead who were buried in urns. The people whose monuments are found in Kerala and beyond were the pre-Hindus of the Deccan as the funeral rites prove.

Megalithic monuments are found scattered along the long chain of wooded hills in Travancore. Dolmens, menhirs and cromlechs are the types of monuments found on the hills. The dolmens (pandukuzhies) are, according to Walhouse, believed to have been built by a race of dwarfish men

<sup>1</sup> *The Journal of the Mythic Society*, Bangalore, Vol. XVIII, No. 3, "The Hill Pandarams of Travancore", pages 181-182.

<sup>2</sup> J. De Morgan. *Pre-historic Man*, p. 86.

a cubit high. It was conceived that they were constructed for hiding treasure. Walhouse found most of them ransacked.<sup>1</sup> It is remarkable that my experience in Travancore goes to confirm the same view. My excavations in the Ranni Reserve were barren of results as the dolmens were found to have been tampered with.

Mr. Mitra<sup>2</sup> points out that there are three types of dolmens—those with three supports, four supports, one of which is pierced with a hole. Dolmens with three supports crowned by a conical cap of laterite occur in the northern parts of the Cochin State but have not been found in Travancore.

Dolmens with four supports have been found by me in the heart of the Ranni Reserve. Judged by my inspection of two of them, they are evidently disturbed. The capstone has been removed and is lying close by. In the words of Morgan, a dolmen is a stone monument of varying dimensions composed of vertical slabs set on end with one or more slabs forming the roof. It is a burial chamber in which people of late neolithic times buried their persons of importance.<sup>3</sup> Dr. Borlase upheld that it was connected with the activities of a shady priesthood.

The dolmen at Kadukuthi in the Ranni Reserve is rectangular and is  $8' \times 2\frac{1}{3}'$  in dimensions above ground. Lengthwise it has one single upright on one side, while, at the other, two form the walling. Sideways there is one on each side. The flooring is also paved with stone slabs as in Travancore. The capstone is  $7' \times 7' \times 8"$  and is rudely triangular. Boulders are lying about. There is only one gallery. This was found on the crest of a hill. It appears to have been a dolmen of the earliest times as it was built of large unhewn blocks of stone. The existence of boulders shows it was covered over with them. Excavation was barren of results as it appears to have been ransacked long ago.

Rev. Mateer has found another type of dolmens in the mountains inhabited by the Malayararyans of Travancore.<sup>4</sup> They stand north and south with the circular opening to the south. A round stone is fitted to this aperture, with another acting as a lever to prevent its falling out. The sides as also the stones on the top and bottom are single slabs. To this day, the aryan make similar little cells of stone, the whole forming a box a few inches square.<sup>5</sup> It is seen that the Malayararyans of the present day do not erect dolmens. These monuments are found in the wildest part of the

<sup>1</sup> Thurston : *Ethnographic Notes in South India*, p. 148.

<sup>2</sup> Mitra : *Pre-historic Cultures and Races of India*, p. 175.

<sup>3</sup> Jaques De Morgan : *Pre-historic Man*, p. 235.

<sup>4</sup> *The Journal of the Mythic Society*, Vol. XVIII, No. 4, page 244.

<sup>5</sup> Rev. A. W. Mateer : *Native Life in Travancore*.

mountains on the ridges and spurs of the Ranni Reserve, on the Cardamom Hills and near Marayur in the north-east of Travancore.

This leads me on to the remarkable observations of Mr. M. S. Doraiswamy Iyengar. In the vicinity of Marayur, closer on the banks of the Thalayar or Pambar river, a small but interesting branch of the Amaravathi which flows into the Cauvery are seen a large number of stone huts, some single and others contiguous in groups and in rows. The whole country near by is studded with such groups and they lie scattered about on the several hill tops. The side walls, top, and, in some, the floors are single stone slabs roughly split about three to four inches thick forming small chambers, about six to seven feet long by about three feet in width, and three to four feet in height. Most of the huts in the locality are built on solid rocky bed. The local people call these 'Váli Veedus' and believe them to be the ancient abodes of 'Vális' or the strong monkeys of the days of the *Ramayana*.<sup>1</sup> Monuments of this type are seen in Bison valley of the Cardamom Hills. These are evidently cromlechs.

Writing of the Kurumbas and Irulas, Mr. Walhouse says that occasionally the tribes make small cromlechs for burial purposes and place water-worn pebbles in them. According to Mr. Grigg, some of the Kurumbas of the Nilgiris deposit a bone in a death-house—a small cromlech surrounded by upright stones and bearing some resemblance to the more ancient cromlechs found on the hills and made by their forefathers.<sup>2</sup> The above monuments are found in all parts of South India from the Narbudda river to Cape Comorin.

Besides the above, there are the menhirs, found in parts of North Travancore. The majesty of the dead was typified by a really immense stone. "No modern cenotaph has the simple grandeur of a menhir." We are lost in the mists of uncertainty as to the primitive purpose of these monuments. They are probably memorial stones.

It is observed by Mr. Perry that the reality of a movement of a stone-using people is evidenced by the use of stones for graves by some of the hill tribes. In Watubela, the dead are buried and a stone is placed at the head and foot of the grave.<sup>3</sup> This finds its counterpart among the Kabui Nagas of Assam and the Muduvans of Travancore. The survival of this custom among the primitive peoples of Travancore lends support to the argument that there was a movement of stone-using people not only

<sup>1</sup> The above excerpts are taken from a note on "Among the sources of the Cauvery river" by Mr. M. S. Doraiswamy Iyengar, B.A., B.E., A.M.I.E.

<sup>2</sup> E. Thurston : *Ethnographic Notes in South India*, p. 147.

<sup>3</sup> *The Journal of the Mythic Society*, Bangalore : "The Muduvans of Travancore."

throughout Indonesia as far as Assam, but through Assam to Cape Comorin. The suggestion was hazarded by Fergusson that the Kurumbas of the southern hills are the remnants of a great widely spread race who erected dolmens. My study of the hill tribes of Travancore veers to the same view.

#### CHAPTER IV.

##### Pre-historic Archæology in the Cochin State.

Archæologists owe a deep debt of gratitude to Rao Bahadur L. K. Ananthakrishna Iyer for his research in the field of pre-historic archæology in the Cochin State. In his opinion, no materials are more important for the study of pre-historic man than the multitudinous megalithic structures scattered broadcast over the face of the globe.

One class of sepulchral monuments found in the Cochin State is Kodakallus or umbrella stones<sup>1</sup> which are really dolmens. In Eyyall, a village seventeen miles from Trichur about thirty-five dolmens were found. Only three of them were found intact; while the capstones of the rest have been pulled down. Two of the former are very similar in size, while the third is a little smaller than the other two. The capstones rest on four slightly inclined strong laterite supports measuring four feet in height above the ground and eleven and a half feet in diameter at the base and have a circumference of thirty-six feet. These three, the Rao Bahadur says, have been left as monuments to the scientific world. The verticals are rudely triangular laterite stones with the base underground. They are nine feet in height from the apex to the middle of the base which is five feet long, while the other measures seven feet and four feet six inches above ground respectively. Excavations unfolded vessels of the most fragile state and a few bits of bones not easily distinguishable were obtained. Monuments of this class are not found elsewhere in the State.

*Kistavans* or Muniyaras are found in the forests of Cochin; while some of them are in a sound condition, a few are dilapidated. They are generally of the rectangular pattern formed of single slabs of granite, verticals on the sides and flagged at the bottom by similar slabs with a large superincumbent block which is rough and unhewn. The one opened by the Rao Bahadur had two cells partitioned by a single slab of granite six inches thick with a circular ring about twelve inches in diameter. The two slabs extending east to west were seven feet long and four feet broad and were very thick and massive. The interior dimensions were 6' 3" × 3' 7".

When a *Kistavan* was opened it was found to consist of two cells. One of these cells was opened to a depth of four feet when two big burial urns filled

<sup>1</sup> The writer is indebted to the *South Indian Oriental Encyclopædia* where Rao Bahadur L. K. Ananthakrishna Iyer has dealt with Cochin Pre-historic Archæology.

with earth were found embedded in them with the mouths placed at an angle of 45°. They could not be removed unbroken. The other cell yielded two jars filled with earth and other chatties in a broken condition. They are said to be wheel-made and free from decoration except a few lines of simple mouldings around the rim of the lid and the neck and base of the urn. No lid covering the mouth of any of them were found, but they were packed to the brim with fine red earth which is said to have been originally poured into them in the form of liquid mud which must have later become transformed into a small mass similar in shape to the urn. It is in this mass of earth that bone bits, vessels and beads are found embedded. The smaller vessels may have contained offerings for the spirit of the dead and the circular hole in the middle slab must have been the passage through which the spirit was allowed to take the offerings. The iron implements placed in the grave represented the tools used by the men during their life-time.

*Menhirs.*—Menhirs are monuments of the monolithic type. As dolmens were originally concealed from view, the menhirs always stood on the surface, sometimes resting on the ground, sometimes sunk a few feet deep. They are said to have been erected either as votive offerings or as monuments to the dead in association with or more frequently detached from the cists or tombs containing the ashes of the dead with which all would seem to have been connected originally. The Khasi menhirs are rather memorial stones than grave stones to mark the spot where the remains of the dead are deposited.<sup>1</sup> Two such menhirs, says the Rao Bahadur, came within his observations in the Trichur Taluk.

*Burial urns* are big earthenware pots filled with earth and found buried at a depth of a few feet from the surface. They are found in the forests of the plains, villages, and in the neighbourhood of towns. On excavation, fourteen of them were found in an area of twenty square feet in one locality. They were brittle and fell to pieces by their own weight as soon as the surrounding earth was removed. One of them measured two and a half feet in height, seven feet in circumference at the broadest point and sixteen inches in diameter at the mouth.

When the earth inside the urn was closely examined, fragments of bones were invariably found but they could not be identified with any part of the human skeleton. Iron implements, knives and small swords in a crumbling state were among the finds. Beads and bracelets which must have been worn by women were also found in some of the urns. Pottery of various forms, vases, basins, cups, small vessels of antique and graceful forms all filled with earth were seen in them. Some of the vessels were neither highly

<sup>1</sup> *The Khasis*, page 145.

glazed nor ornamented. It must be, therefore, inferred that they belonged to a comparatively early date. The smaller ones have a kind of glossy appearance. This seems to have been caused by rubbing the surface of the vessel with a mucilaginous gum of *Abutilon indicum*.

## CHAPTER V.

### Inferential Conclusions.

*Tradition.*—Natives have no knowledge of the megalithic monuments nor do they take any notice of them. According to Dr. Caldwell, no reference is made about them in Sanskrit or Tamil literature, but this view is not correct. People call them “pandukuzhies”, denoting pits or graves connected with the pandus or the Pandava-brothers, to whom all over India ancient mysterious structures are attributed. It is also said that the people who built the cairns were a race of dwarfs that were only a span or cubit high, but were possessed of the strength of giants.<sup>1</sup> The results of excavation prove otherwise.

The bones found in the tumuli were neither of dwarfs nor giants, but men of ordinary stature, and the stone slabs used for the monuments indicate they were cut from solid rock and carried some distance and the people were physically equal to the present race of men. The absence of traditional knowledge respecting their origin is a strong presumptive evidence that they have to be attributed to a very remote period.

*Mode of Burial.*—The human remains found in megalithic monuments in India have been sometimes buried but perhaps more frequently cremated. Occasionally a single sepulchre contains traces of burial as well as cremation. Instances of the urn burial of the whole body are met with in Sind and Tinnevely. Large jars narrow at the neck and pointed at the bottom were used and the body must have been reduced in bulk either by dissection or pounding before it could be passed through the narrow neck. Similar jars are found in Babylonia where they are coated with bitumen, a black smear or false glaze prepared from the juice of *Abutilon indicum*. Burial is also supplemented by other precautions against the return of the ghost. According to Sir James Frazer, the practice of placing stones over the corpse may have a similar origin; graves are provided with mounds, tomb-stones or enclosures in order to keep the dead from walking,<sup>2</sup> or to prevent their spirits from returning to their old haunts.<sup>3</sup>

The mode of disposal of the dead by burial is one of considerable antiquity. Professors Macdonell and Keith hold that the epithet ‘agni-

<sup>1</sup> A. K. Keane, *Ethnology*.

<sup>2</sup> *Imperial Gazetteer of India*: “The Indian Empire”, Vol. II, page 96.

<sup>3</sup> Westermarch, *Origin and Development of Moral Ideas*, page 544.

dagdhah' applies to the dead who were burnt in a funeral pyre; the other custom being burial—'anagni-dagdhah', not burnt with fire. They also refer to 'paroptah', 'casting out', and "uddhita", 'exposure of the dead'. They add that burial was not rare in the Rig-vedic period.<sup>1</sup> In the Vedic period, both customs appear in the modified form. A stone is set up between the dead and the living to separate them.<sup>2</sup> Manimekhala, Tolkappiyam and Porul-adigaram afford a valuable mine of information regarding the methods of disposal of the dead in pre-Brahmanic days. They are very old Tamil works said to have come into being about the eighth century A.D. Some scholars give them an earlier antiquity (second century B.C.). The practice of erecting monuments in honour of the dead must have belonged to the non-Aryan tribes known as Mlechas, Rakshasas, Dasyus and Nishadas who were the pre-Dravidians. There are references relating to this custom in Tolkappiyam and Puranânuru. Two of them are quoted below.

Oh potter! maker of vessels, whose kiln touches the sky, hear, Oh potter, the great and famous Chola king is dead; if thou touched turning out an urn big enough to cover the remains of the illustrious dead, you should employ the mundane disc as your wheel and the Mount Meru as your clay.

Oh! thou potter, who makes earthenware, do please prepare the urn meant for my deceased patron rather larger, so that it might accommodate me also in it.

Tolkappiyam and Porul-adigaram also give a verse in exemplification for finding out of a fit stone to be set up in memory of the deceased hero.

Here the custom of interring the remains of a deceased person in an urn is alluded to. It is possible that the cremating people were the Aryans who are said to have entered India about 2000 B.C.

### Geographical Distribution.

The geographical distribution of dolmens is very wide and interesting. They are found from the south of Scandinavia to Algeria and from Portugal to India and Japan. The earliest dolmens are built of large unhewn blocks of stone. Since they present a uniformity, it is conceived they were the work of one people.

Lewis points out that the dolmen is not confined to one race and circles to another, but that the construction betokens a phase of culture through which many races have passed and which man developed in different countries in different ways. On the other hand, Fergusson and Eric Peet point

<sup>1</sup> J. E. Carpenter: *Comparative Religions*, p. 90.

<sup>2</sup> D. A. Mackenzie: *Indian Myths and Legends*. Introduction, p. xxxii to xxxvii.

out that megalithic monuments could not have evolved independently. Lastly, Elliot Smith adduces argument in support of the thesis that the essential elements of the ancient civilization of India, Further Asia, the Malay Archipelago, Oceania and America were brought in succession to each of these places by mariners, whose oriental migrations began as trading intercourse between Eastern Mediterranean and India some time after 800 B.C., and continued for many centuries.<sup>1</sup> From a study of mummification and customs like circumcision and tattooing, he concluded that migrations that carried this culture set out from Egypt in 800 B.C. in pursuit of wealth. The Egyptians turned to the Red Sea, the Persian Gulf, India, Ceylon, Burma, Malaysia, the Pacific Islands and America. This view is seriously questioned by Morgan. He states with great cogency that, if the practice of constructing huge edifices came to Europe, there would have come with it the knowledge of metals. This seems to be the case.<sup>2</sup> The hypothesis that the dolmen spread in the opposite direction is untenable, for it would postulate the inception of metal industry in Caspian countries. It is an impossibility because Asiatic civilization goes back much further than that of the west.

Careful attention has been paid on megalithic monuments by antiquarians who, after careful research, have been able to divide them according to their contents into three classes:—

1. Tumuli of the Stone Period.
2. Tumuli of the Bronze Period.
3. Tumuli of the Iron Period.

The tumuli of the Stone period are considered the earliest. They are often of great size and are particularly distinguished by the important circles of stones and stone chambers in which are found the remains of the unburnt body with objects of stone and amber. The dolmen opened by Ward and Conner on the Cardamom Hills in Travancore probably belong to this period as no implements were found. This period represents the lowest state of civilization before the introduction of metals.<sup>3</sup>

The tumuli of the Bronze period contain relics of burnt bodies, vessels and implements and ornaments of bronze and indicate that the people were in a more advanced civilization than the preceding. Tumuli of this period have not been so far found in Kerala.

The tumuli of the Iron age are the most recent. They shew the people in a comparatively advanced state of civilization. Iron implements, swords, knives and spear-head, highly polished vessels are found in them. In the

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<sup>1</sup> A. H. Keane : *Man Past and Present*, p. 352.

<sup>2</sup> Jaques De Morgan : *Pre-historic Man*, page 239.

<sup>3</sup> Fergusson : *Rude Stone Monuments*.



Cochin State, all the tumuli are found to be of the Iron age, while in Travancore, some indicate an earlier origin as evidenced by the excavations of Ward and Conner.

The crucial point now for consideration is the probable time of the Iron age. This is a knotty problem, and it is only possible to fix the time approximately. Iron was known to Vedic Hindus from very early times. In the Rig-Veda, there are references to weapons of iron. In the opinion of A. C. Gupta, the age of the Rig-Veda has been set down to Miocene or at any rate to the Pliocene or Pleistocene epoch.<sup>1</sup> Though this estimate is based on internal evidence, such remote antiquity has not attained the rank of scientific certainty. Professor Macdonell's estimate may be taken as correct. The Iron age in India may be approximately fixed as being prior to 2000 B.C.

In Europe, the earliest account of the tumuli is found in Homer's *Iliad* and in the Scriptures.<sup>2</sup> Tacitus makes mention of this custom among the Teutons in the first century A.D. It is probable this mode of sepulture disappeared in Europe before the progress of Christianity which introduced burial of the dead without burning and unaccompanied by any such superstition as that of depositing some articles with the deceased. The erection of megalithic monuments may have disappeared in Europe in the ninth or tenth century A.D. In India, it is still found to linger among the jungle tribes.

### Conclusion.

It has been pointed out that megalithic architecture is due to culture contact; for the monuments present such a uniformity of structure. Montelius focusses attention on the continuous influence of the east on the west from a remote past of pre-historic times. Fergusson says that the dolmen builders were Dravidian in origin. Ruggeri strikes a different note. He opines that they were Vedici or Australoid in origin and between the Mundas of the north and the Veddas of the south there intervene the Kurumbas, Irulas and Malayarayans who represent the pre-Dravidian formation, who once extended over the whole of India and were influenced by new comers (the Dravidians and Aryans).

According to Flinders Petrie, the date of this culture may be fixed as 2500 B.C.<sup>3</sup>

This is confirmed by the views of Mr. Perry who holds that, all the world over, the dolmens present such similarities of structure that they must have been the work of a people showing a common culture.<sup>4</sup> Beyond

<sup>1</sup> A. C. Gupta : *The Rig-Vedic India*, Vol. I.

<sup>2</sup> *Ezekiel* : Chapter XXXII, v. 27.

<sup>3</sup> *Journal of the Mythic Society*, Bangalore, 1928, No. 4, pages 244-245.

<sup>4</sup> G. T. Perry : *Megalithic Culture of Indonesia*.

Indonesia, which includes, among others, Assam and Burma, megalithic monuments are in evidence in the region of the Mundas of Chota Nagapur, the Todas of the Nilgiris and the hill-tribes of the Cochin and Travancore forests.

Beyond the phenomenal uniformity of the structure of the megalithic monuments, palæontological evidence deserves consideration. Of late years, two fossil remains have been found in India, the Bayana cranium and Sialkot cranium. Dr. Keith is of opinion they are of a Veddaic type which represents the pre-Dravidian (a dolicho-cephalic people).

There is a remarkable similarity between these and the skeletons found in the tumuli of Great Britain, France and Germany which exhibit features of a dolicho-cephalic people. Thus the uniformity in structure of the monuments is marked by a uniformity in structure of the contained skeletons which belong to a dolicho-cephalic people.

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## TRADERS' SLANGS IN SOUTH INDIA.

BY C. HAYAVADANA RAO, ESQ., B.A., B.L.

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TRADERS all over Southern India have, during the course of ages developed slangs of their own for purposes of secret communication. These slangs have a wide vogue and are in common use. Though termed here "Slangs", there is nothing inelegant or vulgar about them. They do not, however, carry the stamp of general approval and are current only within certain well-defined territorial limits. Indeed, the slang of one community cannot be understood by the others and *vice versa*. They all agree in possessing one chief merit: they can, each in its own area or among its own fraternity, be used with perfect immunity in the very presence of the persons with whom some transaction—buying or selling—is in active progress. This enables free consultation between traders among themselves before the eyes of the buyer or the seller as the case may be, the buyer or seller himself being hopelessly unaware of what is going on around him. In fact, he may be taken to be absolutely oblivious of what is transpiring—so quickly, so deftly and so noiselessly is the secret conversation by means of a slang carried out. A word or two, just as the constituent is looking this side or that and the business is finished. The prime peculiarity of its use is the celerity with which the word is uttered and the transaction put through, usually advantageously to the trader.

From a fairly large repertoire, I give below a few representative samples. They ought to show the cunning that is contained in them and the wide knowledge that has been brought to bear on their construction, if not invention.

The Nāttukōttai Chetties of Madura and Ramnad, now better known as Nagarattār, are among the more forward among South India's merchants and bankers. The three tables given below are in use among them, wherever they may be. It will be seen that the tables refer themselves to Annas and Rupees, one relating to the latter being devoted to *units* and the other to *tens*. A point worthy of remark is that the tables take their origin from the names of famous gods or goddesses or place names with which Saivas are closely connected as devotees and the Nagarattārs as renovators of the more famous Saiya temples in South India.

TABLE I.

## Anna Table.

Thiripurasundari, Goddess at Madura.

௫.	தி	ரி	டி	ர	ஈ	ந்	த	ரி
$\frac{3}{4}$ Re.	$\frac{1}{2}$ Re.	$\frac{1}{4}$ Re.	$\frac{3}{16}$ Re.	$\frac{2}{16}$ Re.	or $\frac{1}{8}$ Re.	$\frac{1}{16}$ Re.	$\frac{3}{4}$ As.	$\frac{1}{2}$ As.

TABLE II.

## Rupee Table—Units.

Vedagirīśvararthunai, the God at Tirukalikundram, Chingleput District.

௧	வ	த	கி	றி	ய்	ஸ்	வ	ர	ர்	து	ணை
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	

TABLE III.

## Rupee Table—Tens.

Tirukkazhikunram, the famous Saiva place of pilgrimage in the Chingleput District.

தி	ரு	க்	க	மு	க்	கு	ண்	ற	ம்
10	20	30	40	50	60	70	80	90	100

The following words are also in use among the members of this (Nāttukottai) community in certain places :—

TABLE IV.

Kāna Na = 1 anna

Enā Na = 2 annas

*Kāna na* means the *anna* that is signified by the first letter *Ka* (Tamil க) series of *alphabets*. *Enā na* in the same way signifies the second vowel *ē* applied to *ka*; hence two. Sometimes *anna* is also referred to as *Vanakkam*, while *Vellé* (white) signifies the Rupee, as the Rupee is of silver and whitish in appearance. That this term *Vellé* for the *Rupee* is quite a common designation in the slangs in use in South India will be seen from what follows.

Next we may take the slang used by the rice merchants and grocers of Madras City and round about. The table set down below is a table of terms in common use amongst them. It is a combined one—measure, rupee and anna.

## I. A Combined Table.

Madi <sup>1</sup> Padi	= 1 measure	Mada <sup>6</sup> Padi	= 6 measures
Madi Vállé	= 1 rupee	Mada Vállé	= 6 rupees
Madi Aná	= 1 anna	Mada Aná	= 6 annas
Véné <sup>2</sup> Padi	= 2 measures	Théré <sup>7</sup> Padi	= 7 measures
Véné Vállé	= 2 rupees	Théré Vállé	= 7 rupees
Véné Aná	= 2 annas	Théré Aná	= 7 annas
Kona <sup>3</sup> Padi	= 3 measures	Giri <sup>8</sup> Padi	= 8 measures
Kona Vállé	= 3 rupees	Giri Vállé	= 8 rupees
Kona Aná	= 3 annas	Giri Aná	= 8 annas
Shurudi <sup>4</sup> Padi	= 4 measures	Mani <sup>9</sup> Padi	= 9 measures
Shurudi Vállé	= 4 rupees	Mani Vállé	= 9 rupees
Shurudi Aná	= 4 annas	Mani Aná	= 9 annas
Sara <sup>5</sup> Padi	= 5 measures	Kili <sup>10</sup> Padi	= 10 measures
Sara Vállé	= 5 rupees	Kili Vállé	= 10 rupees
Sara Aná	= 5 annas	Kili Aná	= 10 annas

This table may be used for referring to gold values called Svarnam which means 1 Varáhan (or Rs. 3-8-0);

as Madi Svarnam=1 Varáhan

Véné Svarnam=2 Varáhan and so on.

## II. Table of Fractional Denominations.

Pú Vállé	(= 2 as.)=1/8 rupee	Thangám Vállé (= 8 as.)=1/2 rupee
Pínji Vállé	(= 4 as.)=1/4 rupee	

This table may be used in connection with *Padi* (or measure).

I have been unable to make out the meanings of the *Pú*, *Pínji* and *Thangám*.

<sup>1</sup> *Madi* = *Mind*, usually *one mind*; also *moon*, one moon.

<sup>2</sup> *Véné* = *Nal Véné* and *Thi Véné*, two sorts of qualities.

<sup>3</sup> *Konam* (*gunam*) is *quality*. *Konams* are three in number:—

(1) *Rájasam*; (2) *Thámasam*; (3) *Sáthwikam*.

<sup>4</sup> *Shurudi* stands for *Sruti* or *Védas* which are four in number: *Rig*, *Yejur*, *Sáma*, *Atharva*.

<sup>5</sup> *Sara* = *Aksharam* or *pañchāksharam* (*Sivāyanamaha*, which in *Tamil* is only five letters).

*Sara* = *Panchasara* or the five arrows of *Manmatha*.

<sup>6</sup> *Mada* = *Shan madam*, six systems of philosophy.

<sup>7</sup> *Thêrê* = ? Seven, Seven Oceans (*Sapta Samudram*).

<sup>8</sup> *Giri* = *Mountain*. *Ashtagiri*, the eight mountains.

<sup>9</sup> *Mani* = *Nava Mani*

= *Nava Ratnam*

= Nine kinds of precious stones,

<sup>10</sup> This term is not understood,

The *Fanam* (1 *Fanam* being =  $1\frac{1}{4}$  as.) is still in common use in and around Madras, at least by name. In traders' slang, a *Fanam* is usually called a *Shúlai*, *oru Shúlai*, *érundu Shúlai*, *mínu Shúlai* and so on. The meaning of the term *Shúlai* is not known.

Among the rice merchants and grocers of Trichinopoly, a different kind of slang is in use.

### I. Table for Anna and Rupee.

<i>Mindiri</i> Aná = 1/16 rupee = 1 anna	<i>Pani</i> na = 8 as.
<i>Ê</i> Aná = 2 as.	<i>Mûni</i> na = 12 as.
<i>Pû</i> na = 4 as.	

The underlined secret terms may be used either for *anna* or *rupee*; if rupee is intended they are coupled with *Véllé* (=the white thing) which stands for the rupee. Thus:—

<i>Éna Véllé</i> or <i>Pada Véllé</i> =	1/8 Re.
<i>Púna Véllé</i> or <i>Váyu Véllé</i> =	1/4 Re.
<i>Pani Véllé</i> or <i>Poona Véllé</i> =	1/2 Re.
<i>Múna Véllé</i> or <i>Pani Váyú Véllé</i> =	3/4 Re., where <i>Pani</i> = 1/2 Re. and <i>Váyú</i> = 1/4 Re. Then there is the longer combination for indicating <i>Véllé</i> 7/8ths of a rupee. <i>Pani Váyú Ê Véllé</i> = $\frac{3}{4} + \frac{1}{8}$ Re. = $\frac{7}{8}$ Re.

### II. A Combined Table.

<i>Peena</i> <sup>1</sup> na = 1 anna	<i>Lúna</i> na = 5 As.
<i>Peena Véllé</i> = 1 rupee	<i>Lúna Véllé</i> = 5 Rs.
<i>Peena Padi</i> = 1 measure	<i>Lúna Padi</i> = 5 measures
<i>Lána</i> na = 2 As.	<i>Mána</i> na = 6 As.
<i>Lána Véllé</i> = 2 Rs.	<i>Mána Véllé</i> = 6 Rs.
<i>Lána Padi</i> = 2 measures	<i>Mána Padi</i> = 6 measures
<i>Laiyana</i> na = 3 As.	<i>Vána</i> na = 7 As.
<i>Laiyana Véllé</i> = 3 Rs.	<i>Vána Véllé</i> = 7 Rs.
<i>Laiyana Padi</i> = 3 measures	<i>Vána Padi</i> = 7 measures
<i>Yána</i> na = 4 As.	<i>Nána</i> na = 8 As.
<i>Yána Véllé</i> = 4 Rs.	<i>Nána Véllé</i> = 8 Rs.
<i>Yána Padi</i> = 4 measures	<i>Nána Padi</i> = 8 measures

<sup>1</sup> P = a single letter.

Thina na	= 9 As.	Thúna na	= 10 As.
Thina Vélle	= 9 Rs.	Thúna Vélle	= 10 Rs.
Thina Padi	= 9 measures	Thúna Padi	= 10 measures.

The first letters of these ten secret numerals are put together into the mnemonic formula "*Pillaialum Vanthithu*" and is easily remembered in this form:

### III. Another Combined Table.

Madi	Vélle = 1 Re.	Sara Vélle	= 5 Rs.
	Padi	Samayam Vélle	= 6 Rs.
	Aná	Shalam Vélle	= 7 Rs.
Véné Vélle	= 2 Rs.	Kiri Vélle	= 8 Rs.
Kona Vélle	= 3 Rs.	Mani Vélle	= 9 Rs.
Shurudi Vélle	= 4 Rs.	Thisai <sup>1</sup> Vélle	= 10 Rs.

In Madras town, the Vaisya (or Kómati) merchants, shroffs and ordinary traders use the following table of secret terms:—

### I. Table for Pies and Annas.

Nakili Batu	= 1 pie	Kévum Nakili Ana	= 1½ as.
Ké Batu	= 2 pies	Ráyam Análu	= 2 as.
Kévu Nakili Batu	= 3 pies	Ráyam Nakili Análu	= 2½ as.
Ráyam Batu	= 4 pies	Uddulam Análu	= 3 as.
Ráyam Nakili Batu	= 5 pies	Uddulam Nakili Análu	= 3½ as.
Thápikamanálu	= 1/4 anna	Súlálu <sup>2</sup>	= 3 as.
Nakili Ana	= 1/2 anna	Kungidu	= 4 as.
Ké Vana	= 1 anna	Súlálu Kungidu	= 12 as.

### II. Table for Rupee Denominations.

Thápi Thélupu	= ¼ Re.	Máram Thélupu	= 7 Rs.
Nakili Thélupu	= ½ Re.	Thámam Thélupu	= 8 Rs.
Ké Thélupu	= 1 Re.	Navaram Thélupu	= 9 Rs.
Ráyam Thélupu	= 2 Rs.	Gálam Thélupu	= 10 Rs.
Ráyam Nakili Thélupu	= 2½ Rs.	Ráyam Gálálu <sup>3</sup>	= 20 Rs.
Uddulam Thélupu	= 3 Rs.	Uddulam Gálálu	= 30 Rs.
Uddulam Nakili Thélupu	= 3½ Rs.	Panam Gálálu	= 40 Rs.
Panam Thélupu	= 4 Rs.	Molam Gálálu	= 50 Rs.
Múlam Thélupu	= 5 Rs.	Thípanam Gálálu	= 60 Rs.
Thípanam Thélupu	= 6 Rs.	Máram Gálálu	= 70 Rs.

<sup>1</sup> *Thisai* = *Disai* = the 10 points of the compass; ten.

<sup>2</sup> Probably for *Trisúlam* or the trident of Siva; hence three.

<sup>3</sup> Instead of the term *Gálálu* is used sometimes *Éththunam*,

Thánam Gálálu	=	80 Rs.	Múlam Savulu	=	500 Rs.
Navaram Gálálu	=	90 Rs.	Thípanam Savulu	=	600 Rs.
Késavulu	=	100 Rs.	Máram Savulu	=	700 Rs.
Ráyam Savulu	=	200 Rs.	Thámam Savulu	=	800 Rs.
Uddulam Savulu	=	300 Rs.	Navaram Savulu	=	900 Rs.
Panam Savulu	=	400 Rs.	Gálam Savulu	=	1,000 Rs.

### III. Table for Varahans (Rs. 3½).

*Makáram* stands for *Varáhan*, of which the last letter is *ma*.

Ké Makáram	=	1 Varáhan	Thípanam Makáram	=	6 Varáhans
Ráyam Makáram	=	2 „	Máram Makáram	=	7 „
Uddulam Makáram	=	3 „	Thámam Makáram	=	8 „
Panam Makáram	=	4 „	Navaram Makáram	=	9 „
Múlam Makáram	=	5 „	Gálam Makáram	=	10 „

The following terms used by the above-mentioned classes of traders are of a tell-tale character :—

Dótu (दोतु)	=	Give away	Dótu Kó	=	Take it ; have it ;
Dótra	=	Give away, I say.		=	or buy it up.

Analysing the above tables, we get the following common denominations for the figures 1 to 10 :—

Ké	=	1	Thípam	=	6
Ráyam	=	2	Máram	=	7
Uddulam	=	3	Thámam	=	8
Panam	=	4	Navaram	=	9
Múlam	=	5	Gálam or Eththunam	=	10

In Madras town and Triplicane, the Indian dealers in cloth, chiefly country women fabrics, use the following table :—

	Rs.	A.	P.		Rs.	A.	P.
Ká Thámbram	=	0	0	1	Dími Aná		
Madi Thámbram	=	0	0	2	Véné Aná		
Pinji Aná	=	0	0	3	Thú Aná		
Surudi Thámbram	=	0	0	4	Thútané		
Sara Thámbram	=	0	0	5	Pú Vélle		
Thangana	=	0	0	6	Dimithing Aná	=	0 2 3
Pazha Aná	=	0	0	9	Dimisa Aná	=	0 2 6
Madi Aná	=	0	1	0	Dími Pazha Aná or		
Madi Pinji Aná	=	0	1	3	Dimithar Aná	=	0 2 9
Madika Aná	=	0	1	6	Kona Ná or Shola		
Madi Pazha Aná	=	0	1	9	Aná	=	0 3 0



	Rs.	A.	P.		Rs.	A.	P.
Kola Pinji Aná ==	0	3	3	Madi Pazha Pú Vélé			
Kona Ká Aná ==	0	3	6	or Nabitharam thú ==	1	14	0
Kona Pazha Aná ==	0	3	9	Dími Vélé or Vena			
Thing Aná or Thing				Vélé ==	2	0	0
Vélé ==	0	4	0	Kona Vélé ==	3	0	0
Thing Rézhendu or				Surudi Vélé ==	4	0	0
Sara Aná ==	0	5	0	Sara Vélé ==	5	0	0
Thing Thú or Meda Aná				Mada Vélé ==	6	0	0
or Pinji Pú Vélé ==	0	6	0	Thara Vélé ==	7	0	0
Thing Thú Rézhendu				Giri Vélé ==	8	0	0
or Théré Aná ==	0	7	0	Mani Vélé ==	9	0	0
Chátané or Ká Vélé or				Kili Vélé ==	10	0	0
Sa Vélé ==	0	8	0	Vena Kili Vélé ==	20	0	0
Chátu Vélé ==	0	10	0	Kona Kili Vélé ==	30	0	0
Pazha Vélé or Tara				Surudi Kili Vélé ==	40	0	0
Vélé ==	0	12	0	Sara Kili Vélé ==	50	0	0
Taram Tú Vélé ==	0	14	0	Mada Kili Vélé ==	60	0	0
Madi Vélé or Nabi				Thera Kili Vélé ==	70	0	0
Vélé ==	1	0	0	Giri Kili Vélé ==	80	0	0
Madipú Vélé or Nabi-				Mani Kili Vélé ==	90	0	0
tú Vélé ==	1	8	0	Madi Arai Vélé ==	100	0	0
Madi Pinji Vélé or				Dimi Arai Véléai ==	200	0	0
Nabithing ==	1	4	0	Kona Arai Véléai ==	300	0	0
Madi Pinji Pú Vélé				Surudi Arai Véléai ==	400	0	0
or Nabithing thú ==	1	6	0	Sara Arai Véléai ==	500	0	0
Madi Pinji Púrezhendu				Mada Arai Véléai ==	600	0	0
or Nabithing thú				Thara Arai Véléai ==	700	0	0
Rézhendu ==	1	7	0	Giri Arai Véléai ==	800	0	0
Madiká Vélé or				Mani Arai Véléai ==	900	0	0
Nabisa ==	1	8	0	Kili Arai Véléai ==	1,000	0	0
Madi Pazha Vélé or							
Nabitharam ==	1	12	0				

Among the Hindu cloth merchants of Triplicane Gujli, the secret terms used are of Hindustani origin. The following table is in proof of this statement:—

Pává Kháné	=	1 anna	Savváng Kháné	=	5 as.
Adá Kháné	=	2 as.	Àdákhu páu	=	8 as.
Powná Kháné	=	3 as.	Pownákh páu	=	12 as.
Ang Kháné	=	4 as.			

Pávák Ruppé	= 1 Re.	Sowáng Ruppé	= 5 Rs.
Ádák Ruppé	= 2 Rs.	Powno do áng Ruppé	= 7 Rs.
Pownák Ruppé	= 3 Rs.	Do áng Ruppé	= 8 Rs.
Áng Ruppé	= 4 Rs.	Adái ang Ruppé	= 10 Rs.

Among the Patnúlkarans of Madura, who deal in silk cloths, etc., in Madura City, the following table of secret terms is in use :—

Nabi Aná	= 1 anna	Namshá Aná	= $1\frac{1}{2}$ annas
Namthing Aná	= $1\frac{1}{4}$ „	Namthar Aná	= $1\frac{3}{4}$ „

Another class of Tamil cloth merchants and brokers in Madras use the following terms, which speak for themselves :—

*Padiya pár* = Ask for less or say less, according as the addressed is the purchaser or seller.

*Mudukká pár* = Ask for a higher rate when he is the purchaser ; or get clothes of a better texture and of greater prices if he is the seller.

*Sivan thámbram* = If this is said, it is a sign that the rates given out by the trader must include the **broker's charges**.

Another set of Telugu merchants, mostly dealers in cloth, use the following terms which are :—

Malasu Vákkádu = Quote a higher rate.

Nási Vákkádu = Quote a lower rate.

Similar terms are in use among those speaking Hindustani :—

Savát Karo = Quote a higher price.

Pownát Karo = Quote a lesser price.

The above instances of traders' slangs, in use mostly among the retail merchants of Southern India, ought to suffice. Their existence would seem to indicate that keen interest in trade for which the people of South have long been famous.

# STUDIES IN BIRD-MYTHS, NO. XXVIII.—ON A SOUTH INDIAN ÆTIOLOGICAL MYTH ABOUT THE MALABAR PIED HORN-BILL.

BY PROF. SARAT CHANDRA MITRA, M.A., B.L.

THE Malabar Pied Horn-bill (*Hydrocissa coronata*, Bodd.) appears to be found in Malabar and other parts of Southern India. An adult specimen of this bird from the Peria forests in Wynaad, in Southern India, is preserved in the Lucknow Provincial Museum.<sup>1</sup> Another scientific name of this bird is *Anthracoceros coronatus*. Its Bengali name is *Bagma Dunes*. To the Uriyas, it is known as the *Kuchla Kha*. It is also found in Ceylon, in the dry forests of the low country, woods at the base of the Western Ghats in Malabar as far north as Ratnagiri.<sup>2</sup>

The following ætiological myth, apparently about the Malabar Pied Horn-bill, is current in Southern India. This bird was originally a cowherd who refused to furnish a drink of water to the sacred cow when she was thirsty. For this act of cruelty and heinous sin, the god Vishnu punished him by metamorphosing him for ever more into the Malabar Pied Horn-bill. To make the punishment more drastic, the god ordained that it should be provided with such a kind of bill as will enable it to drink by looking upwards to the sky whenever it would rain.<sup>3</sup>

It is impossible for me to say whether the Malabar Pied Horn-bill or, for the matter of that, other species of horn-bills quench their thirst by drinking rain-water only, which they are stated to catch by turning their bill upwards. But, this much I can say, that the primitive myth-maker of Southern India observed the fact that the horn-bills cannot turn their huge bills downwards and that they always keep the same turned upwards. To account for this physical peculiarity of these birds, the myth-makers of Southern India appear to have invented this myth.

Curiously enough, this South Indian ætiological myth bears a striking similarity to a Bengali ætiological myth about the skylark, which I have published in the *Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society* of Bangalore, Vol. XIV, pp. 106-110. In this latter myth it is narrated that an undutiful son neglected to furnish his dying mother with a drink of water. For this

<sup>1</sup> Vide "Catalogue of the Birds in the Provincial Museum, Lucknow," Allahabad : North-Western Provinces and Oudh. Government Press. 1890, p. 38.

<sup>2</sup> Vide *The Fauna of India Series : Birds*, Vol. III. By W. T. Blanford, F.R.S., page 144.

<sup>3</sup> Vide the article entitled "Bird Mythology" by R.P.P., in *The Calcutta Review* for July 1901, No. CCXXV, pp. 71-75.

neglect of filial duty Yama, the god of death, punished him by metamorphosing him into a skylark and furthermore cursed his bird-form by ordaining that it would have to quench its thirst by drinking rain-water only.

The same method of punishing a bird, by condemning it to quench its thirst by drinking rain-water only, was also meted out to the Woodpecker in a bird-myth which is current in France. It is stated therein that, at the time of the creation of the world, the task of excavating the seas, lakes and rivers, was assigned to the birds. But the Woodpecker alone refused to join in this work. For its indolence and disobedience, it was condemned to dig for ever the wood of trees with its bill. A further punishment was meted out to it by condemning it to the effect that it would be able to quench its thirst only by drinking of the water of heaven. It is moreover believed that, for this reason only, the Woodpecker's head is so frequently turned upwards.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> *Op. cit.*, pp. 72-73.

# STUDIES IN PLANT-MYTHS NO. VI.— ON AN ANCIENT INDIAN ÆTIOLOGICAL MYTH ABOUT THE PERIODICAL LEAFLESSNESS OF THE SILK-COTTON TREE.

BY PROF. SARAT CHANDRA MITRA, M.A., B.L.

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THE Silk-cotton tree (*Bombax Malbaricum*), which belong to the order *Malvaceae*, is a very large deciduous tree with branches in whorls, spreading horizontally, and a stem with large thorny buttresses. It is met with throughout the hotter forests of India and Burma. It is abundant on the eastern side of India. It is also distributed to Java and Sumatra. It is the largest and most characteristic tree of Rajputana.

The inner bark of this tree yields a good fibre suitable for cordage. Its seeds yield the so-called red silk-cotton. This cotton is largely used for stuffing pillows.

Its gum is used as an aphrodisiac. It contains a large amount of tannic and gallic acids. It is regarded as a styptic and is used in diarrhoea, dysentery and menorrhagia. It has a fibre value also. It is also astringent. The leaves of this tree are made into a paste which is used as an external application.

The flower-buds of this tree are used as pot-herbs. Its leaves and twigs are lopped off and given as fodder to cattle.

The timber of this tree is used for planking, packing-cases, tea-chests, toys, fishing-floats, coffins and lining of wells. In the Konkan and Burma the trunk of this tree is often hollowed out to make canoes. In Bihar, its timber is employed for making into doors and windows.

The cotton produced by this tree is made into tinder for domestic use. The "*yamadruma*" mentioned in the Vedas appears to be identical with this tree.

I have already stated above that this tree is deciduous, that is to say, that it annually sheds its leaves. After the leaves are shed, this tree looks extraordinarily bare and nude. The most observant among the ancient Aryans were struck by this extraordinary bareness and nakedness of the silk-cotton tree and, being unable to hit upon the true cause of this phenomenon, fabricated the undermentioned myth to explain the origin of the periodical leaflessness of this tree.

Once upon a time, there grew in the Himalayas a very large and leafy silk-cotton tree with outspreading branches. It afforded good shade to

weary travellers and did not use to shed its leaves annually just like the silk-cotton trees of modern times. Seeing its extraordinary leafiness, the divine sage Nārada once went to it and asked: "O mighty tree! I have been very much struck by your extraordinary leafiness, by the great and cooling shade afforded by you, and, above all, by the fact that not one of your branches is broken and that not one of your leaves has fallen. What is the cause of this? Is Pavana, the god of winds and storms, your friend and does he, therefore, make you immune from his ravages?"

To his question, the silk-cotton replied: "O Sage! Pavana, the god of winds and storms, is neither my master nor my friend. The true fact is that my power and strength are much greater than his. After breaking the branches and tearing off the leaves of other trees, he has often come to me for the purpose of vanquishing me. But I have always defeated him in the contest that took place between him and myself."

Hearing this, Nārada rejoined: "O silk-cotton tree! You are talking like a fool. Even Indra, Yama, Kubéra and Varuna are inferior to Pavana in power and strength, and cannot cope with the latter. You have flouted Pavana. I shall go to him and inform him of your arrogance and impertinence."

Thereafter Nārada went to Pavana and informed him of the way in which the silk-cotton tree had flouted him.

Hearing Nārada's words, Pavana, the god of winds and storms, flew into a towering rage and went to the silk-cotton tree and, addressing the latter said: "O tree! You have spoken contemptuously about me in Nārada's presence. I have spared you from the effects of my ravages, simply because of the fact that once my grandfather Brahma had sat and rested under your shade. But now I shall make you feel the consequences of my wrath."

Hearing Pavana's threats, the tree replied: "O Pavana! I care a fig for your anger. Do what you like."

But when night came, the good sense of the silk-cotton tree prevailed, and he thought within himself that what Nārada had said was very true and that he himself was much inferior to Pavana in power and strength. Having thus reflected within himself, the silk-cotton tree lopped off his branches and shed his leaves and, assuming an extraordinary appearance of bareness and nudity, remained awaiting Pavana's approach.

When the day dawned, Pavana came raging with fury for the purpose of humiliating the pride of the silk-cotton tree. But when he saw the extraordinary leaflessness and denuded condition of the tree, his anger cooled and, addressing the tree, he said: "O silk-cotton tree! I would have meted out to you the same sort of humiliating treatment that you have done to

yourself. As my anger has cooled now, I no longer bear any ill-feeling towards you."

Saying this, Pavana went away. Since that time, the silk-cotton tree becomes denuded of leaves periodically.<sup>1</sup>

If we carefully study the foregoing myth, we find that, by inventing it, the ancient Indian myth-maker has served the following two-fold purpose:—

(1) He has accounted for the origin of the periodical leaflessness and denuded appearance of the silk-cotton tree.

(2) He has also taught the grand moral lesson that "Pride goeth before destruction and haughtiness before a fall," and that no one should, therefore, indulge in bragging and boasting.

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<sup>1</sup> For the full version of this myth, see Bengali magazine entitled: *Sandesha* (published from Calcutta) for Baisākha 1327 B. S. (April-May 1921 A.D.), pages 2-3.

## REVIEW.

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### The Vedanta and Modern Thought.

BY DR. W. S. URQUHART, M.A., D.LITT.

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IN the preface to the *Religious Quest of India* Series the editors claim to be governed by two impelling motives, namely, to study Indian religious and philosophic thought in a spirit of sympathy and 'to set each form of Indian religion by the side of Christianity in such a way that the relationship may stand out clear', and Dr. Urquhart has kept these two motives before him in the "Vedanta".

It is a welcome feature of the modern Christian movement in India that a sympathetic understanding of the religious thought and life of the people is replacing the old crude methods of evangelisation. Dr. Urquhart, who by the way takes Sankara as the typical exponent of the Vedanta, is singularly free from the patronising attitude with which most of the Western writers on Hinduism are wont to look upon Eastern philosophy and religion.

With this preliminary observation, we may proceed to consider Dr. Urquhart's estimate of Sankara's philosophy. We are not concerned here with the historical method pursued by the author in tracing the ideas of creation, transmigration, sin and so forth. The conclusions arrived at in most cases are at best mere guesses. The way, for example, in which Brahman and Atman concepts have been traced appears to us but a fancy picture. The chronological order of the Upanishads as set forth in the work differs little from the time-sequence assigned to them by reputed Oriental scholars like Maxmuller, Deussen and others.

Nor are we concerned with the doctrinal differences between Sankara and Ramanuja. It may be observed, however, in passing that while appearing to appreciate the Visistadvaitic position in some respects, Dr. Urquhart is giving away the case of Ramanuja when he says that where there is difference between the Upanishads and the Brahmasutras of Vyasa, "Ramanuja will feel more at liberty to follow the plain meaning of the Sutras". What interests us in this work is the author's criticism of some of the fundamental concepts of the Vedanta.

To begin with Dr. Urquhart seems to doubt the accuracy of Sankara's absolutist interpretation of the Upanishads, but we may note that Sankara's position is well established if it is conceded that 'the prevailing tendency of the Upanishads is in the direction of insisting that the final state is one of complete identification of the individual soul with the Brahman.' Curiously enough the Doctor contradicts himself by stating that 'on the whole they (Upanishads) favour a realistic interpretation of the Universe'.

It is a matter of opinion whether Sankara is a faithful interpreter of the Sutras. Not only are Western scholars divided on this point but differing schools



of philosophy have arisen in India all deriving their credentials from Vyasa. But this does not alter Sankara's position. Ramanuja's expositional treatment of the Sutras finds favour with the author but then he says that where there is difference between the Upanishads and the Brahmasutras of Vyasa 'Ramanuja will feel more at liberty to follow the plain meaning of the Sutras'. Every traditional exponent of Vedanta must recognise the authority of the Upanishads.

In regard to the relation of God to the world, Sankara's view is opposed on two grounds. It is averred that the effect must partake of the reality of the cause if it is admitted that God is not only the originating but also the material cause of the Universe. The Advaita is clear on the point that Brahman though the material cause is only Vivartopadana and not the evolutionary cause of the world. If this be borne in mind there will be then no room for the contention that the effect must partake of the qualities of the cause. It is again urged that Sankara 'degrades a qualitative Brahman to the level of the first product of Maya'. There is no question of degradation here at all. It is a point of metaphysical validity and we have to judge it as such. Is the position taken up by Sankara supported by Srutis, logic and experience or not? That alone is valid and nothing else. Before passing on to the next point we may state that the author has not correctly interpreted Sankara as regards the place he assigns to the Veda, experience and reason as evidences to truth. Sankara does give a high place to reason and experience in the evaluation of truth and in fact would rule the Scriptures out of court if they conflicted with them. Only in matters transcending empirical comprehension, is the scriptural authority supreme. Even here reasoning is essential for the right understanding of the scriptural teaching. It is admitted, however, that this implicit submission to authority has not stifled the philosophical enquiry though Dr. Urquhart quotes with approval passages from writers who consider that undue reverence to a religious or philosophical teacher has led to sterility of thought. It will not be difficult to advance the other view that the so-called individuality in Europe has often led to intellectual anarchy. The poet was earnest when he sang—

Our little systems have their day ;

They have their day and cease to be.

In dealing with Sankara's relation to Buddhism Dr. Urquhart has taken this passage from Professor Das Gupta—"His (Sankara's) Brahman is very much like the *Sunya* of Nagarjuna. It is difficult to distinguish between pure being and pure non-being as a category... I am led to think that Sankara's philosophy is largely a compound of Vijnanavada and Sunyavada Buddhism with the Upanishad notion of Self super-added." The whole idea is wrong. The Pure Being is not a category like that of Hegel which may or may not be identical with Non-Being. All categories must presuppose pure consciousness which is Brahman the knowledge of which is one of immediacy and not derived from the intellect. It is the Supreme Being shining in its own light. It is the ground of all our empirical notions and the residue after the latter vanish. The whole trouble arises from the fact that critics of Sankara, be they Indian or Western, start with the assumption that they

can bring the Absolute within the four corners of empirical comprehension. Sankara did not borrow his ideas from Buddhism retaining the Upanishadic notion of the permanence of the Atman. On the other hand, he combats the Buddhistic doctrines with the support of the Upanishads and the Sutras.

It is further significant that Dr. Urquhart confesses that 'it is not easy to say dogmatically that a teacher who asserts pure Non-Being is not at the same time affirming his belief in an Absolute but indescribable reality.' The author next finds fault with the intellectualistic attitude of Sankara and says that this attitude has led him to forget his own rule that the subject must never be treated as an object and concludes that with him the subject on whose impossible quest he has embarked remains an object and 'because he has provided no other than purely intellectual means for overcoming the separateness of the object, he is, as it were, hoist with his own petard.' This is a travesty of Sankara and results from the Doctor's rooted faith in dualism. Nowhere does Sankara proceed on the principle that the Self is something to be sought as an alien entity. He is never weary of asserting that the subject-object relation is a myth and at best a Vyavaharika notion and that the seeker is the sought. Identity is not the identity of two objects, actual and existing, but is the notion of oneness resulting from the elimination of super-imposed notions. The negative attitude which, it is said, is a slightly unattractive element in Sankara, is the only correct attitude. Instead of being restrictive in character it tends to make the conception of Brahman at once expansive and satisfying. The positive attitude, on the other hand, narrows down the conception and leads to limitless contradictions. Nor can it be said that Sankara's doctrine militates against the faith of the mystic who desires 'the expansion of the Self to become the Self of all.' The Self is all and in that sense the individual Self expands to become the Brahman, the Self of all and not that the all and the Self are two opposing entities in which case it will be impossible to think of the Self expanding to become all.

Proceeding to the subject of knowledge Dr. Urquhart opines that the two orders of knowledge, higher and lower, derive little support either from the Upanishads or the Sutras. How can such a statement be made in the face of Mundaka? The whole range of knowledge is there brought under the two orders, *para* and *apara* and their values set forth. To say that the higher knowledge is reserved for the few is not to reserve it to any particular caste. The disciplined man to whatever caste he may belong is fit to acquire the higher knowledge. There is no intellectual or spiritual aristocracy. Further it is thought that the advocacy of the distinction between higher and lower knowledge will lead to the extraordinary doctrine that 'truth is an incomprehensible reality while the thing that we know is a comprehensible unreality.' The true nature of the Divine, no doubt, contains an element of mystery and it cannot be supposed that God is as tangible as one's neighbour is. Matthew Arnold has somewhere said, "They (the Christian divines) all employ the word *God* with such extraordinary confidence as if 'a Great Personal First Cause, who thinks and loves, the moral and intelligent Governor of the Universe' were a veritable fact given beyond all

question....” As regards the phenomenal world there is nothing strange in its being comprehensible for that is the only region where man’s faculties can function.

Touching the doctrine of Maya Dr. Urquhart says, “Brahman, as qualitative, is the sum-total of the Upadhis, and the world of nature and human spirits is their manifestation and constitutes the body of Brahman and concrete revelation of his being.” This is, no doubt, the view of those who believe in a personal God, but not of Sankara. We need not dwell here on the author’s speculation regarding the origin and development of the Maya doctrine. Among Indian philosophers and theologians differences do exist regarding the validity of this doctrine. But any attempt to prove that it does not derive support either from the Upanishads or from the Sutras must be futile. Deussen has clearly pointed out that it is as old as Yagnavalkya and that it can be inferred even from the passages of the Rig-Veda. Whether this doctrine accounts satisfactorily for the relation between God and the universe, between the Absolute and the manifold, has to be tested with other doctrines and their relative value ascertained. All that we wish to emphasize is that the doctrine is not as is often supposed Sankara’s coinage. The criticisms advanced by differing schools of thought against the Maya conception have been ably refuted by Advaitic teachers and Sankara prefaces his commentary on the Brahma Sutras with his exposition of the universality of the world-illusion. Pages 153-55 of the book under review where the author tries to assail the doctrine of identity are filled with a number of provisos and one can hardly recognise if he has offered an independent and satisfying alternative. Certain phrases employed in this connection are unfortunate. For example, ‘Isvara as the first *product* of nescience’ is misleading. Isvara is not the product of Maya, but he is the Absolute in its creational aspect with the mayic power well under his control. ‘The passage from unity to diversity as involving *degradation*, etc.’ In ordinary usage ‘degradation’ indicates a lower level in the moral plane whereas it is intended to connote ‘spiritual incompleteness,’ and then there is no stigma attached to it. It is Chapter VIII that justifies the title of the book and one wonders why the author has devoted so little space to what he has set before him as the main theme of his discourse. Dr. Urquhart brings under his purview such idealists as Spinoza, Schopenhauer, Hegel, Bradley and others and examines the points of agreement and contrast between their views and those of Sankara. We may just call attention to the criticisms in this chapter which are levelled against the Vedantism of Sankara. When Spinoza says that God is Infinite, in relation with which all determination is negation, Dr. Urquhart raises the following difficulty—‘if all ordinary experience belongs to the region of names and forms, will not the imagining intellect also be a mere reflection....?’ If it is suggested in reply that these difficulties are themselves illusory, the question again arises “whence came this illusory point of view?” The answer is that it is wrong to require a time origin to illusion which is beginningless. As regards man’s freedom the Doctor says that Spinoza ‘fell a victim’ to a conception of the inexorable necessity

and a denial of any true freedom to man', and he thinks that Sankara's modified acknowledgment of the law of Karma tantamounts to a denial of freedom. This is not so. We must understand the restricted field of freedom. Regarding the proper distribution of moral responsibility for the suffering and evil of the world between God and man there is no contradiction in the view held by the Vedantins that while justice is meted out according to one's deserts it is Isvara that dispenses it and not the insentient Karma itself. It is surprising that in criticising Schopenhauer whose appreciation of the Upanishadic teaching is so whole-hearted, Dr. Urquhart delivers himself thus—an anticipation of essential identity may make one patient in suffering injustice, and unperturbed in inflicting it, just in so far as the doer or the sufferer is influenced by the consideration that those who inflict injury and those who suffer it are one and the same! Travesty could go no further! The fact is that the Vedanta is too individualistic. The individual is all. If injury is inflicted and that without compunction it only shows the deep dye of the sin. Self-purification is the central doctrine of the system. One ought to go on perfecting oneself till one becomes perfect. It is renovation without end. Is it fair criticism to ascribe heartlessness to a Vedantin? Having pointed out that Hegel's system differs from the Vedanta in many respects, Dr. Urquhart remarks that Hegel falls into like error with Sankara when he admits the illusoriness of the universe. Well, this is as it ought to be and a point to be welcomed in Hegel. The whole complaint against Vedanta and Hegel is that the merely intellectualistic position is apt to engender absolute indifference and callousness to the sorrows and miseries of the world and by refusing to admit their reality is certain to stifle all ethical and social endeavour. The answer to this charge is that Dr. Urquhart does not care to give due weight to the disciplinary process laid down in the Vedantic scheme, in its ethical and religious aspects. According to his interpretation the goal is reached before the intervening distance is covered. In the preparatory stage a Vedantin stands self-condemned if he does not lead a moral life. Bosanquet and Bradley come in next for attack but no fresh point is adduced to require consideration.

Having disposed of the idealistic philosophers Dr. Urquhart treats of the religious value of the Vedanta in the last chapter of his book and sets forth some of his conclusions. Strangely enough the Doctor while admitting the beauty and spiritual satisfyingness of the identity doctrine belittles it for reasons which to us do not seem to be cogent. Merely because the religious attitude according to the Vedanta is not the highest there is no depreciation intended as supposed by him. It is the top rung of the ladder though not the topmost. Why should there be any antagonism between religion and philosophy? It is the essential trait of Vedanta that it never loses sight of the close association between the two. Sankara himself was intensely religious and yet staunchly adhered to the doctrine of identity. His is the most daring metaphysical synthesis. It is in the contemplation of the highest Reality which in its essence is universal existence, thought and bliss that one gets the greatest religious satisfaction. The attainment of the purest happiness which is the end of a religious life is incompatible

with the least idea of limitation. The individual must therefore be transcended and the universal realised. The eagerness to retain one's personality for eternity is indicative of our strong attachment to the ego and religiously too it is not a desirable trait, for it sets up the ego however noble permanently over against God. Dr. Urquhart considers that if we accept the identity position we fail to distinguish between the destinies of the saint and the sluggard. This view, we need hardly say, is against the grain of Vedanta. He urges another objection, namely, that the identity doctrine compels one to use lower categories. He thinks that we must resort to some such analogy 'as the plop of a rain-drop in a pool of water'. No such analogy will suit. All that is required is to free one's Self from the enveloping shroud. It is the negation of the world-flux and the return of the Self to the Self. Yet another charge—that the Vedanta of Sankara leads in practice 'to a non-evangelical indifference to the religious needs of the common people'. One may ask why it was that Sankara undertook his extensive tours holding disputations with the professors of adverse doctrines, purifying temple-worship and founding Mutts in the different parts of India. Sankara's whole life is a refutation of this assumption.

Regarding the nature of the individual soul Dr. Urquhart employs such phrases as 'the development of the soul' and 'health of the soul'—concepts utterly abhorrent to the Vedantic spirit. Again, has the soul of man two centres—his own eternal entity and God? Then what is the relation between the two and how do you reconcile two eternal existents? In answer what has the Doctor to say? Nothing but vague generalities, even more empty than the imagined emptiness of the Advaita. He speaks of communion as against identity, but he has not explained what its import is. When he says 'we feel that we may regard the elements of our personality as revealing the nature of God....' there is an implication of man's divine nature but he would not admit its full significance. Criticising the theory of Karma the author says 'seeing that men are not perfect and misunderstanding their freedom they have gone far astray in the paths of error and sin, the love of God has to deal with the consequent suffering and evil and communion can come only as a result of restoration.' One may pertinently ask why God who is all-wise and all-loving should endow man with freedom which he more often than not mis-uses. If I am in any way responsible for my neighbour's misery my after-sympathy towards him is by no means of the highest kind. No doubt God incarnates to put down evil and establish righteousness but then evil is brought about by man's not understanding the right values of things. The evil is primal and is the outcome of nescience and God has no connection with it.

Finally Dr. Urquhart holds the view that modern Indian thinkers are dissatisfied with the Vedantic teaching. This is far from what actually obtains. There is in fact a great revival of Vedantic study and scholars of repute have already been compelling attention in the West to the intrinsic merits of Vedantism. Perhaps it would be truer to say that Christianity, at any rate, as it is practised in the churches, is losing its hold on its professors. The present-day British attitude towards Christianity is thus expressed in his recent contribution to the

*Library of Contemporary Thought* by Mr. A. G. Widgery. "On the whole, however, in spite of the ecclesiastics to represent it otherwise, there is in Britain a marked neglect both of intellectual interest and of practical participation in religion." We have no quarrel with the pious hope of Dr. Urquhart that Christ will fulfil the religious longing of India and we are glad of his high appreciation of the Vedanta and of his appeal to Western thinkers to relate Christian thought to Eastern wisdom.

D. V.

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**BHISHMA PANCHAKAM.**

BY V. VENKATACHELLAM IYER, ESQ., B.A., B.L.

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THE reckoning of time by months and the computation of the year by a number of months had been evolved very early in the cultural progress of man. But the division by months was not quite uniform among the races of the world, either as to the number of days to the month or of the months to the year. The commencement and close of the year also differed in the same way, as it was made to depend, according to the knowledge or predilection of the several races, on climatic and other considerations which varied from time to time. Changes steadily made their way into these calculations as time passed, so that no nation was able to maintain the same calendar throughout the ages. Nor did the days appointed for feasts and fasts in the calendar of any people quite accord with the rotation of the seasons for which such days were originally ordained.

When a people used to a particular number and order of the seasons migrated to another part of the globe, where the climatic conditions were dissimilar, the number and start of the seasons would necessarily vary and the calendar would require to be reconstructed.

A study of the old-time systems of year-measurements shows that, from time to time, the number of days reckoned to the year varied. So also the terminus of the start and the finish. The year was sometimes commenced

with one or other of the solstices, or with one or other of the equinoxes, though the months were reckoned by the moon.

Sometimes the commencement was rested on some sidereal incident of conspiracy.

Seed-time and harvest also contributed towards these changes among agricultural races, as also the changes caused by the precession of the equinoxes. The feasts and fasts of primitive societies were mostly regulated by the ordinances of the priests to whom was confined the knowledge of the stars and the compilation of the calendar.

The Sanskrit section of the Aryan races passed through these several changes, and their calendars underwent revision from time to time, influenced by varying climatic conditions and an improved knowledge of astronomical detail.

Superstition of one sort or other has entered largely into the religion of every race in the world. Religious beliefs might and often do change, but superstitions are die-hards and those of a superseded primitive culture are often found to subsist side by side with a more or less rational form of an advanced religious belief. Many religious rites or observances stand on the same footing as superstitions, possibly because, in their origins at least they were hardly separable.

We find accordingly the rites and practices connected with a superseded system of time-keeping continued into a new one by the nations, notwithstanding that the new system has necessarily its own corresponding observances, resulting in a multiplicity of such functions, without a consciousness of their identity and often without an appreciation of the incongruity of supervening situations.

The Puranas afford abundant evidence of innumerable religious rites or observances named Vratams. Happily, most of them have fallen into desuetude, if ever they were conscientiously observed.

The number of these Vratams is staggering if they were really intended for observance.

These Vratams did not come into existence in one cycle or under one system of belief. They were the creations of different cycles, of varied beliefs and changing notions. They were not all indigenous in India or native to the Sanskrit races. Some of them were borrowed from alien peoples and duly acclimatized with deceptive stories setting up a pseudo-native origin.

We thus find in the Puranas, and the Dharma Sastras dealing with religious observances in detail, a heterogeneous number of Vratams enjoined, one almost for each day of the year, and often more than one, with no attempt to guard against overlaps and with every attempt to obscure their



real significance. Festivals or observances started under religious or quasi-religious requirements are never given up though the need of them has passed away; and when the real origin is forgotten, a false one is always ready to hand. When notions concerning the movements of the sun and the moon are expressed in terms of Siva and Parvati or Vishnu and Lakshmi, as anthropomorphic entities, the average man is powerless to understand the real origin of the rite in vogue. This state of things has resulted in an accumulation of sacred days throughout the year requiring arduous tasks of religious observances.

On a proper understanding, most of these days will be found to be no more than New Year's days, fallen into disuse as such but still observed as sacred days, for the benefit of the priests and the chastening of the householder, and without any idea about their true origin.

Among the Vratams ordained for observance by Brahmins and the three other castes is one to which the name given is

#### Bhishma Panchakam.

The words mean "Bhishma's five" and in the proper context mean 'The five days of Bhishma'. Who this Bhishma is, what these five days are, and what is the connection of the one with the other, will be the subject of investigation in this paper.

The account of this Vratam is set out in more or less detail in some of the Puranas and some of the Dharma Sastras.

As usual they differ in some particulars. One and the same Purana or Dharma Sastra may discourse on the Vratam in more places than one, but the several accounts do not, as they ought to, if true, tally with one another or with the corresponding portions in other Puranas or Sastras. It may appear strange but it is a fact that the narrative in each Purana appears to be a copy extracted from some other book. There are lapses in the texts which clearly show that the passages are extracted from elsewhere, without care being taken to make the copy correct *mutatis mutandis*. The Puranas appropriate texts of the Dharma Sastras and the latter deal with the Puranas likewise. The version preserved by the *Bhavishya Purana* appears to have been copied more often by the Puranas and relied on more frequently in the Dharma Sastras. The *Padma* is sometimes referred to in ignorance that it is a very faulty copy. Among the Puranas, the account of this Vratam is contained :—

In the *Skanda Purana*, Vol. II, Book IV, C. 32;

(In this Chapter it is twice told) and again in the same Purana in Vol. VI, C. 265,

in the *Garuda Purana* we find it in C. 123 ;  
 in the *Bhavishya Purana* in C. 72 (of section IV, Uttara Khanda);  
 in the *Padma Purana*, for the first time in Vol. II, Part I, C. 23 ;  
 the second time in Vol. IV, C. 125, from verse 27 to close ;  
 in the *Agneya Purana* in C. 205.

The *Bhavishya Purana*, in company with some other Puranas, introduces the Bhishma Panchakam in very abrupt manner. The episode comes in as a part of a discourse by Sri Krishna, the Avatara, to Yudhishtira. The first verse contains a question by Yudhishtira who is made to say :

“ If then this Vratam of Bhishma Panchakam, which is unequalled and sacred and the best of all Vratams, ought to be rigorously observed in Kartica, may I know the ritual to be pursued and the merits which flow from it? Will you please speak about it, so that the Rishis and myself may hear and benefit ?”

Now in the previous chapter no reference had been made at all to Bhishma Panchakam, so that the words ‘ *If then* ’ and the following attributes are out of place.

The introduction with which the narration starts here indicates that it must have been copied, at least to some extent, from elsewhere.

The text of the account in this Purana appears from some of the verses to have been loosely constructed, offending against syntax and grammar, if the copy is not corrupt. I have followed the Bombay Edition of Mr. Kshemaraja Sri Krishna Dasa.

#### Verses 1 to 4.

*Yudhishtira*.—‘ If then this Vratam of Bhishma Panchakam, which is unequalled, sacred and the best of all Vratams, is to be rigorously observed in the month of Kartica, will you please be so good as to favour me with the details of the rite and with an account of its merits for the benefit of myself and the well-intentioned Rishis ?

*Sri Krishna*.—‘ Well, I will speak of this Vratam, sacred and best of Vratams, how it should be done and what is the good resulting from it. I discoursed about it (on a former occasion) to Bhṛigu. He repeated it to Usanas (*Venus*—masculine). The latter passed on the knowledge to some Brahmins and to the wise Prahlada.’

#### Verses 5 to 8.

‘ As fire excels all other luminous bodies ;  
 As the wind excels all that is fleet-footed ;  
 As the Brahmin excels among those deserving of respect ;  
 As the Ganges excels all waters in its sanctity ;  
 As the earth on which we live excels all other worlds ;

As the Aswamedha excels all other sacrifices ;  
 As Maḍhura excels all other sacred places ;  
 As the Veda excels all the sciences known ;  
 As Achyuta (Vishnu) excels all other Gods ;

Even so this Vratam of Bhishma Panchakam excels all other Vratams ever known.

It is therefore difficult to achieve, and well-nigh impossible.

But whosoever succeeds in getting through with it, has done everything (meritorious) which a man could do (for his salvation).'

*Verses 9 to 14.*

'This Vratam was duly observed in the Krita Yuga by Vasishtha, Bhṛigu, Bharga and others; in the Treta Yuga by Nabhaga, Anga, Ambarisha and others; in the Kali Yuga by Sirabhadra and other Vaisyas, as also by Sudras. And this Vratam was so observed through all the five sacred days. The Brahmins performed it by observing sexual abstinence, by prayers, Homams and such like acts. The Kshatriyas also did likewise to the best of their ability.'

*Verses 12, 13 and 14.*

'During these days, everyone should observe celibacy, avoid doing harm or injury to others, avoid profane speech, meat, liquor and the company of women.

The dutiful one should restrict himself to a frugal meal of greens and cabbages, herbs and roots, and pursue with devotion the worship of Krishna.

Married women may also observe this Vratam with the permission of their husbands.

Widows also for the increase of their posterity, for the fulfilment of all wishes mundane, and for the certainty of salvation in the next world.'

*Verses 15 to 25.*

'The performer of the Vratam should keep himself clean by bathing morning, noon and evening. He should wear clean cloths. He should offer Tarpanams (libations) to the Gods, the Pitris and Dæmones, with white and black grain.

He should then proceed with the worship of Vishnu's idol or image. He should bathe the image with milk, ghee and honey; and with Panchagavya and a mixture of scented sandal water and perfumes.

He should worship the image with sweet-scented flowers and offer incense; night and day, during these five days, he should keep a lamp burning before the God. He should offer rice boiled in milk and sugar to the God.

He should pray uttering one hundred and eight times the Mantra, ओ नमो वासुदेवाय, 'Obeisance to Vasudeva (Vishnu)'.

He should offer oblations in the fire of rice-seed, and sesamum-seed, mixed with ghee, reciting the Mantra given above. In the evening he should make prostration to the God, repeat the Mantra given above and lie down on the bare floor for the night. All this should be done during each day of the five.'

*Verses 26, 27 and 28.*

'There is something more to be told. Now listen. On the first day you should worship the feet of the God with lotus petals. On the second day the knees to be worshipped with Bilva or Belsprouts; the third day the navel to be worshipped with the juice expressed from the Bhringa leaf (Ecliptus); then the waist with Bilva leaves and the flowers of the plant Jaya. Then the shoulders should be worshipped. Then the head and crown to be worshipped with fresh Malati flowers. So should the Puja be done by the austere man.'

*Verses 29 to 33 and half of 34.*

'After the worship is over, as required above, on the first day, at night, the devotional man, calm and serene, may *eat some cow-dung*, saying grace over it; except for this indulgence he should observe a fast that day.

On the second day he should have to drink some cow's urine with the Mantra duly uttered (and fast). On the third day, he may have only some milk to drink, and on the fourth day some curd of milk, the fast continuing.

On the fifth day, after the usual baths and Puja he should feed a number of Brahmins and make gifts of money to them. He should also gladden his priest by gifts of cloths and ornaments.

Then in the night he should first take Panchagavyam for expiation and break his fast by eating his dinner.

Thus should this great Vratam be brought to a proper termination—for absolving yourself from all sins—this celebrated Vratam named Bhishma Panchakam.'

(The Panchagavyam is a compound of the five products of the cow. Its dung, its urine, its milk, curd of the milk and ghee, that is, clarified butter. It is frequently prescribed as expiatory to get rid of ceremonial pollution or unclean conditions. A so-called Mantra, purely Puranic, is recited before the mixture is swallowed.)

(The Mantra is to this effect. 'Whatever sin there may be adhering to my skin or bone, let this compound, that I drink, consume such sin even as fire consumes fuel.')

The lines next following are found in a particularly corrupt condition of text.

*Verses 34 to 39.*

‘If a confirmed drunkard gives up that sinful practice to the end of his life, and doubtless earns spiritual merit by doing so, it is still by far inferior to the merit achieved by Bhishma Panchakam.

If a man takes a vow of celibacy and keeps the vow without a lapse throughout the whole of his life, he acquires great merit. But the same may be obtained without such life-long tribulation by observing Bhishma Panchakam (for once in a life-time).

If a man can abstain from meat, liquor and the bed of his wife for the days of the Bhishma Panchakam, he attains to Brahma’s abode.

The religious austerities and exercises prescribed for the whole year and in particular for the days of the month of Kartica, do not in the aggregate achieve more merit than the observance of Bhishma Panchakam.

The angels, gods and demi-gods have all performed this Vratam and obtained their wishes.’

*Verses 39 to 42.*

‘An icon should be made to represent sin, with a terrifying mouth, fearful to look at, with a sword in hand and of hideous form. It should be covered over the shoulders with a black cloth and placed on a thick bed of sesamum seed. The icon should be crowned with a chaplet of oleander flowers and should be decked with ear-rings of gold.

This icon should be given away to a Brahmin with the prayer that Krishna may be pleased with the gift. Gifts should be made to others also. Then the devotee might feel satisfied that he had done all that was proper to be done for his salvation, as to the certainty of which he need feel no doubt.’

[It is not stated here but we have it in the other books that the icon is to be worshipped previous to being gifted away. The invocations to be used are of the names of Yama (Pluto) and a Mantra is also devised :—

“Whatever sin I have to my account in a past existence or in the present one—let all that be extinguished by the favour of your feet (by your favour).”

*Verses 45 to end.*

‘This account of Bhishma Panchakam was related to me by Bhishma as he lay on the stretcher, and I have now recounted to you what I had learnt about this most difficult of all Vratams—The Bhishma Panchakam.

Whoever succeeds in the performance of this Vratam with faith and duty—to him Achyuta (Vishnu) gives salvation. Bachelor or married,

anchorite or Sanyasin, attains the world of Vishnu by performing Bhishma Panchakam.

The slayer of Brahmins, the confirmed drunkard, the man of incest, the evil-doer all through life, every one of these is purged of his sins by the due performance of Bhishma Panchakam.

There is no Vratam that I can think of which is of greater merit than this for the devotees of Vishnu; the God will be particularly pleased to confer on the successful performers of this Vratam eternal bliss.

So great is the merit of this Vratam that one who only hears the account of it read out is freed from all sin, and the one who reads goes to heaven (after death). O Yudhishtira! Blessed is this Vratam, sacrosanct, starting with the eleventh day and ending with the fifteenth. It is great because of the fast enjoined and observed, and pleases the Lord Vishnu to ordain the fulfilment of all one's wishes.'

The narration in the *Bhavishya Purana* which perhaps may be felt to be wearisome, closes here. It has made some very important omissions, a procedure for which it is difficult to account. The omissions will be referred to lower down. I shall not trouble the reader with the accounts preserved in the other Puranas, except for extracts from them on some points which may require elucidation or better treatment. The corresponding portion of the *Padma Purana* on this topic in C. 125 is quite disappointing. It is a jumble of extracts from several sources pieced together in a slovenly manner.

C. 23 of Vol. II, Part I, of the *Padma*, is not of much importance. It tells us how the Vratam should be done, contains eulogies on the Vratam with Puranic extravagance, and, as if to justify the praise, narrates a tale about a Sudra of the name of Dandakara (stick-in-hand) who lived in the remote antiquity of the Treta Yuga. A catalogue is given of his many amiable qualities of head and heart. He delighted in the perpetration of all the high crimes and felonies known to any system of law. He appears to have exhausted, by anticipation, in his own life-work, all the offences enumerated in the Indian Penal and similar Codes. On one occasion he passed into a hermitage of Rishis, quite famished. He asked for food. The Rishis said it would be sinful to eat then as the days of fast had started. The Rishis were engaged in making preparations for the due performance of the Bhishma Panchakam. The hero was curious to know what that rite was; they explained its nature and merits.

The grace of Vishnu descended on him and for once in his life-time he applied himself to this religious exercise and, notwithstanding his exhausted and famished condition of body, got through it with satisfaction.

So great was the merit of this Vratam and so infinite was the mercy of Vishnu that, on his death, Dandakara with the stick in hand was transported to heaven in a chariot sent down for the purpose, and there he remained in Vishnu-Loka having become one with God.

In this Chapter of the *Padma*, there is one fact which requires particular notice. This Vratam is named *Vishnu* Panchakam and not *Bhishma* Panchakam as we find in every other Purana.

The *Padm Purana* was built up with the avowed purpose of glorifying Vishnu in preference to Siva. There is no great harm in that, for Siva has his own Puranas, quite as good, exclusively for himself.

But the change of the name from *Bhishma* Panchakam to *Vishnu* Panchakam was as audacious as it was mischievous, being a perversion of accepted tradition and an obscuration of old-time explanations. That this is so we shall see lower down. It shows at least that the Puranic authors believed as little in the sermons of their predecessors as in their own.

This Vratam is not the privilege of a few if it can be accounted one. It is enjoined on all, men and women, young or old, widower or widow, orphan or the son of a living father. The most important factor in the Vratam is the rigorous fast if it can be observed. But in the case of those who, from physical infirmity, illness or confirmed habit, are unable to satisfy the strict letter of the law, light refreshments are allowed by way of exception.

The copies generally agree in allowing meals on the night of the fifth day. But in Vol. VI, C. 265, of the *Skanda Purana* a more exacting rule is recorded that the fast may be broken only at the usual hour of breakfast on the forenoon of the *sixth* day, the fast having been duly observed for five days and five nights. This is more in keeping with the plan of the Vratam. *The Vratam starts on the eleventh day of the bright half of Kartica and ends in the night of the fifteenth or full-moon day.* In the chapter of the *Skandam* above referred to the feast to the Brahmins is also timed to the forenoon of the sixth day after the start. The Vratam being over, the Brahmins feasted, gifts made to them of gold, silver, precious stones, etc., and one or more milch cows, their blessing is asked for and given and the householder is then at liberty to break his fast.

A very important requirement of the Vratam is the performance on each day of the five of Tarpanam and Arghyam to *Bhishma*. It is extremely surprising that the *Bhavishya Puranam* makes no mention whatever of the Tarpanam and Arghyam, though, apart from the fast, the Tarpanam forms the really operative portion of the rite. It is prescribed in most of the other Puranas and in the several Dharma Sastras. Readers who are not familiar

with the ideas of Tarpanam and Arghyam might require some explanation as to what these acts are.

The Tarpanam is a libation, invariably, of water. The Arghyam is an oblation though of water, but is rendered as a mark of respect or regard. The Arghyam is often prescribed in the case of living persons as honoured guests, etc. The Tarpanam is always associated with the requirements of those who have departed this world, and is never offered to living persons. The Arghyam is sometimes appropriate in the case of the departed ones also.

The Tarpanam consists in pouring out little quantities of water on the extended palm of the right hand. Some rice-seed or sesamum seed or a mixture of both is held in the palm, the water is poured over it, and the water runs off over the tips of the fingers. The Tarpanam in general is rendered to the gods unnumbered with their kith and kin, to the Rishis who were the seers of the Vedas, their kith and kin, and to the Pitris or departed ancestors of the house-holder, male and female.

In the case of the gods and the Rishis (white) rice-seed only is used. In the case of the Pitris (black) sesamum seed only is used.

Sometimes in exceptional cases as in the case of Tarpanams for Yama (Pluto) and Bhishma both black and white seeds are used mixed up. This is special. The reason assigned is that these two are both gods and Pitris, whereas the other gods are gods, simpliciter. There is a text in connection with Yama :

देवत्वंच पितृत्वंच यमस्यास्य द्विरूपता ।

‘The individuality of Yama is two-fold. He is both a God and also a Pitri.’

Bhishma has been placed on the same footing. That this is so will appear lower down.

Another matter of importance to be noted is that, in the case of the Tarpanam to Pitris, no one whose father is living can do it. The living father must do it or not at all.

But in the case of the Tarpanam to Yama or Bhishma the texts are conflicting—some texts direct it in the case also of one whose father is well :

जीवत्पितापि कुर्वीत तर्पणं यमभीष्मयोः ।

‘Even one whose father is alive ought also to offer Tarpanam to Yama and Bhishma.’

Another fact to be noted is that in the case of a Tarpanam to Pitris it has to be done *invariably* with the sacred thread in the Apasavya position, that is, it hangs round the neck from between the right shoulder and the neck. That position is the reverse of the normal, which is between the neck and the left shoulder. The Tarpanam to gods and Rishis is offered



with the sacred thread in the normal position. Now in the case of Tarpanam to Bhishma it is to be rendered, contrary to the usual practice of Tarpanam to Pitris, with the thread in the Savya or normal position.

सव्येनानेन मन्त्रेण तर्पणं सार्ववर्णिकम् ।

Mantras are prescribed for the Tarpanam (libation) and the Arghyam (oblation) ordained to be performed every day of the five. These Mantras are purely Puranic, that is to say, not Vedic. They are Mantras only by courtesy. They are about the same in sense for both the acts. There are variations of reading for these Mantras also, but they are of no consequence as they are only of a synonymous nature. That for the Tarpanam runs mostly as follows:—

वैयाघ्रपादगोत्राय सांकृत्यप्रवराय च  
अनपत्याय भीष्माय उदकं भीष्मवर्मणे ॥

‘This is the libation for Bhishma, the childless one, of the Gotra of Vaiyagharapada and the Pravara of Sangkritya’.

The Mantra for Arghyam is recorded thus:—

वसूनामवताराय शन्तनोरात्मजाय च  
अर्घ्यं ददामि भीष्माय आजन्मब्रह्मचारिणे ॥

‘This Arghyam I offer to Bhishma, who was the incarnation of the Vasus, who was the son of Santanu, and who was a celibate all through life.’

It should be noted that these Mantras make it clear that the person cared for in this way is no other than Bhishma, the well-known patriarchal hero of the *Mahabharata*. But the sequel will show that this is only a make-believe and not the true fact, and that the Tarpanam has nothing to do with Bhishma of the Bharata, though his name had been tacked on to this Vratam.

It is worthy of note that even in the *Padma Puranam* the Mantras for Tarpanam and Arghyam are the same as in the other Puranams, that is to say, in the name of Bhishma and for his benefit. That being so there was absolutely no excuse to change the name to Vishnu Panchakam, and no good sense exhibited by the change.

What then was the origin of this Vratam?

It is stated as follows in the *Skanda Puranam* in the context noted above:—

शरपञ्जरसुप्तेन भीष्मेण तु महात्मना  
राजधर्मा मोक्षधर्मा दानधर्मास्ततः परम् ॥  
कथिताः पाण्डुदायादैः कृष्णेनापि श्रुतास्तदा  
ततः प्रीतेन मनसा वासुदेवेन भाषितम् ॥

धन्यधन्योसि भीष्म त्वं धर्मास्संश्रवितास्त्वया  
 एकादश्यां कार्तिकस्य याचितंच जलं वया ।  
 अर्जुनेन समानीतं गाङ्गं बाणस्य वेगतः ॥  
 तुष्टानि तव गात्रासि तस्मादद्यदिनावधि ।  
 पूर्णान्तं सर्वलोकास्त्वां तर्पयन्त्वर्घ्यदानतः ॥  
 तस्मात्सर्वप्रयत्नेन मम सन्तुष्टिकारकम् ।  
 एतद्व्रतं प्रकुर्वन्तु भीष्मपञ्चक संज्ञितम् ॥

'Sermons, secular and religious, were delivered by Bhishma, the wounded hero, as he lay on the stretcher, to the Pandavas—Krishna was among the audience. Then Krishna was greatly pleased and gave expression to his feelings in these words.

"Blessed are you, O Bhishma! you have expounded all the Dharmas. On Ekadasi day of Kartica month you asked for water to drink. The water was brought up from artesian fountains by Arjuna discharging his arrow. You drank of the water, slaked your thirst, and felt greatly refreshed. And therefore *let the whole universe* offer Arghyam to you from Ekadasi day to the Full Moon day inclusive; and every one should perform this Vratam; which is especially pleasing to me (Krishna), this Vratam named Bhishma Panchakam."

This speech of Krishna, as appears from the context, was made on the last day of the five, the full-moon day. The discourses of Bhishma were completed in five days.

It is obvious from the above that this Vratam was unknown prior to the death of Bhishma; that it was instituted by Krishna, the Avatara, out of regard and respect for Bhishma and for the especial behoof of the latter; that it subsequently came into vogue only in the Kali Yuga, in all probability, for, the Dwapara Yuga closed with the death of Krishna; that the verses quoted in an earlier portion ascribing the practice of this Vratam to the virtuous men of the Krita and Treta Yugas is a downright falsehood.

In the same chapter the *Skanda* gives a second version of his Vratam as told by the great God, Siva, to his son Kartikeya. Therein it is stated:—

भीष्मेणैतद्व्रतं प्राप्तं यतः पञ्चदिनात्मकम् ।  
 सकाशाद्रासुदेवस्य तेनैतद्भीष्मपञ्चकम् ॥

'This Vratam of five days' duration is named Bhishma Panchakam, because it was obtained as a favour by Bhishma from Vasudeva (Krishna).' This note is much to the same effect as that stated above.

The account in the *Bhavishya Puranam* says nothing direct about the origin of this Vratam. But it makes two statements, each directly conflicting with the other. One statement is that the account of this Vratam was for the

first time in this world given by Krishna to the great Rishi Bhrigu; that Bhrigu communicated the detail of the Vratam to Usanas; and that from the latter the knowledge passed to Brahmins in general and to Prahlada in particular (*vide* verses 1 to 4 translated above), and so it spread in this world. But this was all in Krita Yuga; and, if Krishna imparted the knowledge to Bhrigu, it could only have been in his form of Vishnu, for Krishna, speaking to Yudhisthira, was only the Avatara of Vishnu and did not come into existence until about the same time as Yudhisthira about a century before the close of Dwapara Yuga. The other statement is contained in verses 45—46 and is to this effect (see page 159 above): “This account of Bhishma Panchakam was related to me by Bhishma as he lay on the stretcher, and I have now recounted to you what I had learnt about this most difficult of all Vratams—the Bhishma Panchakam.” So then, Krishna knew nothing of this Vratam until he was told about it by Bhishma himself just before the latter’s death, towards the close of Dwapara Yuga. How then did Krishna lecture about it in Krita Yuga to Bhrigu? Neither of these statements gives any indication as to when and how this Vratam had its origin. The two statements are so contradictory of each other that we will retain the first of them to the credit of the *Bhavishya Puranam*. The second statement has been copied into the *Padma* and as that Purana has nothing more to say on this matter, it will be noticed again in commenting on the *Padma* account of the origins of the Vratam.

Let us compare the first statement with the account in the *Skanda* given above according to which Krishna, the Avatara, *originated* this rite for the benefit of Bhishma a little before the latter’s death.

It is impossible to reconcile the two statements though both happen to be of Vyasa’s authorship.

This comparison is valuable for the light it throws on Puranic methods. And again, the *Skanda* itself, having said in the above verses that Krishna started the Vratam, says lower down that it was practised by the worthies of Krita and Treta Yugas. It is much to be regretted that Vyasa should lapse into such glaring contradictions as we see above.

So then we have two accounts in the foregoing:—

1. That the Vratam was started, nobody knows why, millions of years before Krishna was born.

2. That Krishna originated this Vratam. Let us proceed.

Vol. IV, C. 125 of the *Padma Purana* mentioned above closes a long account of Bhishma Panchakam, given by Krishna to his favoured wife Satyabhama, with this note;

इदं भीष्मेण कथितं शरतल्पगतेन मे ।  
तदेतत्ते मयाख्यातं दुष्करं भीष्मपञ्चकम् ॥

“This account of this Vratam now given by me to you *was narrated to me by Bhishma* (!) as he lay wounded. I have repeated it now, all about this difficult Vratam of Bhishma Panchakam.” This is the third statement about this matter.

If the *Padma* is right, Krishna knew nothing of this Vratam until he was informed about it by Bhishma, and the Vratam must have been in vogue long before the time of Bhishma. Also, the other story that Krishna originated it to compliment Bhishma, or to please him, must be pure falsehood.

On this question there is more to mention in the line of Puranic truths. The *Agneya Purana*, C. 205, gives an epitomized version of the Bhishma Panchakam and winds it up with a note :—

भीष्मः कृत्वा हरिं प्राप्त स्तेनैतद् भीष्मपञ्चकम् ।

‘This Vratam was (first) performed by Bhishma and he became one with Vishnu by virtue of that performance, therefore it is called Bhishma Panchakam.’ This records the fourth statement as to the origin of this rite. We have thus several stories, palpably conflicting, about the origin of this Vratam and its name.

If Krishna instituted this Vratam for the benefit of Bhishma, it is appreciable that it should be called by the name in question.

If the Vratam was first started or practised or brought into vogue by Bhishma’s precept or example, it is equally intelligible that the rite should be associated with his name.

In the two other cases the use of the name Bhishma Panchakam is inexplicable, if by ‘Bhishma’ we are to understand the Bharata Bhishma. There is a further difficulty. It is this: that, except in the case of the Vratam having been started for the peace of Bharata Bhishma’s soul, it is impossible to explain the Tarpanam and Arghyam in his name.

We are told that the Vratam was practised in the Krita Yuga which extended for 1,728,000 years, in the Treta Yuga which lasted 1,296,000 years, total, 3,074,000 years. Under what name was this Vratam in vogue in that period of 3,074,000 years?

It must have had a name. Was it Bhishma Panchakam or some other? If the name, which prevailed in the first two Yugas, was also Bhishma Panchakam, it is obvious that the Vratam could not have had any connection with Bhishma of the *Mahabharata*, who came into existence only after more than 863,800 years had elapsed from the close of the second Yuga, supposing Bhishma to have been about 200 years old when he died.

If, on the other hand, the name was something else, why was it changed to the present name? *The Puranas do not tell us by what name it was practised in the Krita and Treta Yugas.* They appear to imply that it was by the same name.

Did Vasistha, Bhrigu and Bharga or Garga and others of the Krita Yuga ; Nabhaga, Ambarisha, Dandakara and others of the Treta Yuga offer the Tarpanam and Arghyam to a prospective Bhishma, timed to come into existence at the tail-end of the Dwapara Yuga of the period of 864,000 years, and millions of years in advance of the institution of the Vratam by Krishna ?

It should be remembered that this Vratam was performed not only by the worthies of the earlier Yugas but also by the gods, demi-gods, dæmones, and, all and sundry, the half-castes of the gods.

These beings of the empyrean or higher or lower regions were all in existence before the creation of man. If they performed this Vratam, doubtless they offered the Tarpanam to Bhishma of the *Mahabharata* who was to be created in the distant future of a little less than four millions of years from then ! By what name did these divine tribes know this Vratam ? By whatever name it may have been known, there is no escape from the Tarpanam which, from the start of creation to this day, has been only for the benefit of Bhishma of the *Mahabharata*. The *reductio ad absurdum* is reached with the help of the *Agneya Purana*. As pointed out above, it is there recorded that the Vratam was named after Bhishma, because he was apparently the first to perform it and become one with Vishnu.

Whether as the first or otherwise Bhishma did perform this Vratam. For five days he was ill, unable to move his limbs, lying on a frame-work made of arrows, improvised to serve as a litter or a stretcher. He expired at the end of that period. These five days are the days consecrated to this Vratam. It is obvious that he did not perform the Vratam in that period which closed the last year of his existence. But according to the Purana he must have done it during his lifetime when he was well. Bhishma was the Nestor of the *Mahabharata*. He lived for three generations of men. At what period of his life he started the observance of the Vratam we do not know. He must have performed the Vratam, not once, but year after year, subsequent to his starting it.

The essentials of the Vratam are the fast and the offerings of water to Bhishma. The *Skanda* adds also the worship of Bhishma.

पूजा भीष्मस्य कर्तव्या दानं दद्यात्प्रयत्नतः ।

‘Worship to Bhishma should be made and gifts should be made by every means.’

The worship is to be done, apparently, by providing an image or other thing to stand for Bhishma. (It is singular that the *Bhavisya Puranam* omits this item of the Vratam.) So then, year after year, Bhishma made the invocations appertaining to his own name and made the libations and oblations to himself and worshipped himself. He was alive and in this world to make the offerings and at the same time in the world of the dead to receive them himself.

The men of the Krita and Treta Yugas passed away in the fulness of time. But the gods and dæmones, to wit, the Devas, Gandharvas, Kinnaras, Nagas and Guhyakas, etc., are eternal. They are not subject to death. They had all along performed this Vratam and offered the Tarpanams to Bhishma, Yugas before he came into existence, naming him as the son of Santanu, of the Gotra of Vaiyaghrapada, and of the Pravara of Sangkritya, all those appellatives referring only to the Bharata Bhishma. They also made puja to him. The matter does not stop there. During the period of Bhishma's existence on this earth, these gods and dæmones worshipped Bhishma and offered the Tarpanams, etc., to Bhishma *living* on this planet. We have to go further. After the death of this Bhishma, the gods and half-gods have continued the Tarpanam and Puja to him, year after year, to the present day,

Bhishma was the patriarch of the Kaurava dynasty when the story of the Bharata opens. He was a Kshatriya prince like so many others before and after him, or of his own period. He was a good and well-informed man and commanded the respect of all who knew him. But why should the Brahmins, who are a degree above him in caste, worship him or offer Tarpanams to him, year after year; and, as if that were not enough, why should they pass through a rigorous fast for five days and nights? Why, indeed, should they eat cow-dung and drink the renal discharge of the cow in the name of Bhishma?

Bhishma was a mortal man *and of this earth*. The gods are immortal and belong to a *higher world*. What is their concern with Bhishma? Why should they make Tarpanams to him, eat cow-dung and drink the cow's discharge? The Nagas are *of the nether world*. It is questionable whether they know anything of Bhishma. It is not probable that they are supplied with the calendars in use in the sacred land of India or that they could make any sense of them if they had copies. Why should then this unfortunate brood be subjected to the tribulation, penance and discipline of the Panchakam, for the glorification of Bhishma or for the peace of his soul? It is said that Bhishma of the *Mahabharata* was an Avatara of the Vasus. These are demi-gods, eight in number, and certainly were among the number of those who performed this Vratam even before Krita Yuga. If they continued doing

it to Bhishma's time, they must have offered libations and made puja to one of themselves living in heaven; after Bhishma's birth to their own representative; and after his death and return to heaven, to one of themselves as in the earliest period, Bhishma as a Vasu being included among the worshippers!

Oh! What a tangled web we weave,  
When first we practise to deceive!

What has the icon to do with Bhishma? It is the simulacrum of sin—of evil—of Ahriman. It is used as a piacular offering to expiate the sins of the householder's commission and omission. This offering has nothing to do with Bhishma or with the rest of the detail of the Vratam. It represents only the accumulation of the sins of the householder wrought in the period of the expiring year; and, as the year is coming to a close, the bundle is passed on to a *donee* who is willing to take it on himself in consideration of an accompanying gift of money.

The Puranas tell us that this Vratam was practised in the Krita and Treta Yugas *as also in the Kali Yuga*. This information is contained in the speech of Krishna to Yudhishtira, or of Krishna to Satyabhama. But Krishna did not outlive the Dwapara Yuga, for that Yuga ended and Kali Yuga commenced with his death.

How then did Krishna happen to speak about the performance of this Vratam in the Kali Yuga, not as an event of the future, not in a strain of prophecy, but as a matter of the past, as a *fait accompli*—the very persons who went through the Vratam being named?

It is not probable that Krishna is to blame for this anachronism, due undoubtedly to excessive zeal and little discretion of Vyasa's assistants.

The verses which record the vogue of the Vratam in the several Yugas are identical in all the Puranas giving that information, but for some reason or other there is no mention of the practice in the Dwapara Yuga. It is difficult to perceive why this should be so. There is a probability that, when the idea was entertained of explaining that the Vratam originated with Bhishma or was instituted in commemoration of Bhishma, it was not possible to say that it was known or practised before. The original authors would therefore say nothing of the kind. As time passed and some later enthusiast thought it necessary to push back the vogue of the Vratam to remote antiquity, the account of the earlier Yugas was interpolated regardless of the context or consequences, and the lacuna about the Dwapara Yuga was left unfilled.

The record of the Kali Yuga examples was probably all that was thought of in the first instance.

There seems to be an idea of progression involved in the account of the observance in the Yugas.

Vasishtha, Bhrigu, Bharga (or Garga) and others performed the Vratam in the Krita Yuga and onwards. All these were Brahmins. For the next Yuga are named Nabhaga, Anga, Ambarisha and others. These were all Kshatriya princes. (Dwapara left blank.) Sirabhadra and other Vaisyas, and Sudras also performed in the Kali Yuga.

The idea seems to be something like this: In the earlier ages, the Brahmins started the observance and continued it down to the present day. For the first Yuga, Brahmins only did it. In the second Yuga, the Kshatriyas also joined. So that in that Yuga the devotees were only Brahmins and Kshatriyas. In the third Yuga, the Vaisyas also took it up and have continued since along with the other two castes. In the last or present (Kali) Yuga the Sudras also have swelled the ranks, so that the Vratam is now in vogue among all the four castes. That was the idea of the interpolation.

\* \* \* \* \*

To primitive man the most natural method, and the easiest to comprehend, for reckoning a month was by the course of the moon. From full-moon to full-moon or new-moon to new-moon was a very suggestive unit. After a time, the idea grew up that the moon was the god of time and he was worshipped as a god or goddess. A god installed for one purpose is generally good for many others, and the cloak of universality is thrown over his shoulders. The worship of the moon preceded that of the sun. According to the idiosyncrasies of the several races, the moon was either male or female and sometimes bi-sexual as at Harran in Mesopotamia. Survivals of these ideas can be found in most of the languages. In countries where the influence of Greek and Latin prevailed the moon was a lady. In Sanskrit all the names of the moon are of the masculine gender and in literature the luminary is treated as a male. It was probably otherwise in remote antiquity, for the tradition of the moon's femininity is still preserved in the religious notion of the identity of the moon with the Goddess Parvati. She is the presiding deity of the moon and the worship of the one is the same as the worship of the other. In Indian astrology the moon has feminine character. Parvati is represented with the crescent moon on her forehead.

The sun was at first subordinated to the moon and was the consort of that planet. When knowledge advanced, it was discovered that, though it was convenient to reckon the months by the moon, the seasons and the religious rites appurtenant thereunto depended entirely on the sun's course, and the regulation of the 'Red-letter' days by the moon's revolution threw the calendar into confusion. The superiority of the sun was then recognized and this superiority was ultimately allowed to pass into supremacy. The



moon now became the wife of the sun and the worship of the sun and moon went on apace. When the gods were figured by the imagination of myth-makers in the likeness of man, the sun and moon were dealt with accordingly. The sun became Iswara or Siva or Mahadeva and the moon became Vishnu. The Sanskrit word विष्णुः (Vidhu) names both the moon and Vishnu. Though both Siva and Vishnu were figured as males, it was well-known to the initiated of the esoteric sections that Vishnu was the wife of Siva.

In a chapter of the *Skanda Purana* referred to below it is recorded that all the gods led by Brahma requested Vishnu to become the base for Siva's Linga and that he readily agreed.

One result of this conjugal union was that, in the course of time, the cultus of moon-worship receded into the background and the cultus of sun-worship advanced to the forefront. A reaction took place and the priests of moon-worship had to change their cult to save themselves from obliteration. Vishnu was now identified with the sun-god and stood as the equal of the older incumbent. Hence the Sanskrit word हरिः (Hari) names both the sun and Vishnu. After some time, a natural anxiety for their own material well-being suggested to the priesthoods the expediency of assiduously promulgating the doctrine that Siva and Vishnu are quite distinctive and different, even to the extent of being in some degree of antagonism, each to the other, as the two orders could not agree to be merged into one. This situation led to much envy, jealousy, rivalry and blood feuds between the two claimants to the throne of the sun. Occasionally they patched up a truce or armistice only to break it at the next favourable opportunity. The other gods took sides with the one or the other. Brahma who, like Uranus, had no temple or cult for himself, was content to sit on the fence, and keep himself on the best of terms with both Siva and Vishnu. The ascendancy of the cultus of either God was often determined or emphasized by the political ascendancy among the princes and rulers who were their votaries. When the worship of Siva and Vishnu under anthropomorphic forms had become firmly established, the origin of the worship was entirely forgotten, so much so that the sun and the moon were treated as different from Siva and Vishnu and subordinated to them as lieges, swearing fealty and rendering homage. Minor worship of a secondary character was accorded to these luminaries; and yet, for a time, the truth of the change was well-known in esoteric canon, but the masses very early lost touch with this knowledge, for it was to nobody's interest to enlighten them. The reader is referred to chapters 6, 7 and 8 of Volume I of the *Skanda Purana*. Chapter 6 invents a tale to account for Phallic worship. Chapters 7 and 8 make it clear that in the symbolism of the Linga fitted into its base or trench, the Linga represents Siva and the base Vishnu; that

the male in creation represents the Linga and the female the trench. The Pīṇḍibhāvam (or being the base of support of the Linga) of Vishnu is stated in the Puranas. This Phallic symbolism which was older and of independent growth was availed of astronomically. In Sanskrit the word Pīṇḍi or Pīṇḍikā means the hub or nave of a wheel and the use of the word for Vishnu is suggestive. The English word 'navel' is a diminutive form of the word 'nave', and the latter is of kin to the Sanskrit word Nabhi (navel). The word means also the nave of the wheel. Now all the spokes of the wheel are fitted into the nave; at the same time, the axle goes into the nave. The idea is that the axle (imaginary) emerging from the sun fits into the moon, the nave, and the sky-wheel moves round it, the radii of attraction serving as spokes.

Two Vratams are inculcated in the Puranas. They have a direct bearing on this topic. The one is called Ādityaśayanavratam and other Rōhinīchandraśayanavratam, *vide* chapters 55 and 57 of the *Matsya Purana*. These chapters have been copied entire into the *Padma Purana*. (The *Padma* has besides copied, *verbatim*, about two hundred folio pages of *Matsya* matter.)

The Adityasayana Vratam, as its name implies, is a sort of epithalamic form of worship of the *sun-god*. The direction is that the worship is to be carried on using the names of *Siva* for invocations and also with every such invocation the names, one after the other, of the 27 stars of the zodiac are to be coupled. It is expressly stated that '*Siva is the sun and that the sun is Siva, that the Linga is to be worshipped with the names of the sun, and the latter to be worshipped with the names of Siva*'. We have the highest authority for this explanation, for the statement was made by Siva himself to the divine Rishi Narada!

उमामहेश्वरस्यार्चा सर्वयेत्सूर्यनामभिः । सूर्यार्चा शिवलिङ्गे च प्रकुर्वन् पूजयेद्यतः ॥

उमापतेरवेर्वापि न भेदो दृश्यते क्वचित्, etc., etc.

Similarly, in the case of Vishnu, the same high authority has stated *the identity of Vishnu with the moon*.

रोहिणी चन्द्रशयनं नाम व्रतमिहोत्तमम्

तस्मिन्नारायणस्यार्चा सर्वयेदिन्दुनामभिः ॥

'The Vratam known as Rohinichandrasayana Vratam is a very meritorious one. At that Vratam, *Vishnu is to be worshipped with the names of the moon*.' In the *Skanda Purana*, Vol. II, Book 4, Chapter 3, we have very interesting and enlightening information. The main narrative purports to be a discourse by Brahma to Narada. In the course of it Brahma says that he would report what Bhaskara (the sun) said to Anuru, the charioteer of the sun, on a previous occasion, and which Brahma had apparently overheard.

Verse 5.

अनूरुं वदता प्रोक्तं भास्क्रेण श्रुतं मया  
कलौच स्वर्गगमनकारणं श्रूयतां हि तत् ॥

‘I had heard Bhaskara telling Anuru, what can be done in the Kali-Yuga to obtain Swarga, now listen to it.’

Verse 16.

अहं विष्णुश्च शर्वश्च देवी विघ्नेश्वरस्तथा  
एकोहं पञ्चधा जातो नाट्ये सूत्रधरो यथा ॥

‘Myself (Bhaskara i.e., the sun), Vishnu, Siva, the Devi (great goddess) and Vighneswara are all myself, appearing in five forms like the actor on the stage.’

Verse 17.

अस्माकं सर्व एवैते भेदाविद्धि खगेश्वर  
तस्मात् सौरैश्च गणैश्च शाक्तैश्चैवैष्णवैः  
कर्तव्यं कार्तिकस्नानं सर्वपापापनुत्तये ॥

‘Know that all these are only changed forms of us (i.e., me). Therefore the worshippers whether of the Sun or of Ganapati (Vighneswara) or of Sakti (Devi) or of Siva, or of Vishnu, should all observe religiously the bathing throughout the month of Kartica.’

Verse 27.

राधादामोदरः पूज्यः कार्तिके तु विशेषतः ॥

‘The worship of Radha and Damodara is special to the month of Kartica.’ Damodara is supposed to be Vishnu and Radha is his sweetheart. That is again the sun and his female principle—Spring and the Vernal Sun.

*But the main worship is consecrated to the orb of the sun. And why? Because*

Verse 32.

अप्रत्यक्षास्सर्वदेवाः प्रत्यक्षो भगवानयम् ।  
सर्वे देवाः कालवशाः कालकालो (कालकारो) दिवाकरः ॥

‘All the gods are invisible, but this god, the sun, is visible to the eyes; and besides, all the gods are subject to limitations of time but the sun is the (maker) timer of time.’ (The word *Kalakala* is also a recognized name of Siva.)

Verse 33.

एतदाराधनेऽशक्तः प्रतिमां पूजयेन्नरः ।  
प्रतिमातोऽधिकं पुण्यं ब्राह्मणस्य तु पूजने ॥

‘But if the devotee cannot worship the orb of the sun, let him worship the sun in an image devised, or, better than that, let him worship a Brahmin as the sun.’

This is all in accordance with what Bryant said, and what is manifest from serious study, that all the gods of the ancients are resolvable into the sun—the visible sun.

The *Bhavishya Purana* says (Book I, C. 53, Verses 49, 50, 51) :—

इन्द्रः पूजयते सूर्यमुत्तिष्ठन्तं दिनेदिने  
मध्याह्ने च यमः पश्चादस्तं यातमपांपतिः ॥  
सोमस्तथार्धरात्रे तु सदा पूजयते रविम्  
विष्णुर्मवानहं रुद्र पूजयाम निशाक्षये ॥ etc., etc.  
श्रेयार्थं देवशार्दूल सर्वे ब्रह्मादयस्सुराः ॥

(Brahma tells Rudra) : ‘ Indra worships the sun when the latter *rises*, day after day ; Yama at midday. Varuna worships the setting sun. The moon worships the midnight sun. Vishnu, yourself, O Rudra (Siva)! and myself (Brahma) (you know) we worship the sun at the end of the night. ....All the gods including myself worship him for (our) well-being.’

\* \* \* \* \*

Very early, among such of the nations of the world as possessed the beginnings of culture and civilization, a year of 360 days was known and adopted. This was believed to be the measure of the solar tropical year. The division of the year by months was at one period unknown. A week of five days was, however, devised and the year was formed by seventy-two of these weeks. Hence the number 72 is even to this day talismanic. The year was commenced when the Pleiades first set after the sun (1st November, *circa*). Later in the history of the calendrical systems, we find a new rule of time-measurement inaugurated with weeks and months. The weeks stood as before but the months were twelve in number, each month reckoning only twenty-nine days of the moon. The year was still recognized as of 360 days. But the twelve months covered only  $12 \times 29$  or 348 days. This fell short of the number of days for the year by twelve. How then should the new system be adjusted to the fixed standard? It was then discovered that during these twelve days, the sun-god either went to sleep or lay wounded prior to his death, which occurred on the last day of the year. It should be borne in mind that the sun-gods of pre-historic and, to some extent, historic periods were very short-lived. They died almost invariably at the end of the year and the new year started with a new sun. After a time, the priests got tired of this yearly slaughter and allowed the expiring sun to be rejuvenated and recalled to life for the new year. The sleeping god then took the place of the wounded one. In India also it was so ; and it was not until the time of Parikshit that a longer lease of life was accorded to the sun—a longevity of sixty years—when the new cycle even now in use was copied from Chaldea. If the myths and fables connected with the

yearly-dying sun-god had not been swept away by a more advanced culture, we should have had to renew our suns once in sixty years at least. But happily all that is over.

The fable of the wounded or sleeping sun-god caught on and every nation had it in one form or other.

The evidence on the matter is all collected in J. F. Hewitt's *History and Chronology of the Myth-making Age*.

[The Ribhus sleep for 12 days in the house of the Pole-star. A dog awakens them at the end of this sleep at the winter solstice.

In another fable this was the period of twelve days during which Thoas slept with his daughter, the Pole-star. During twelve days and nights Argal, the Phœnician sun-god, slept on the funeral pyre before he was recalled to life as the sun-god of the new year on the 25th of December.

This incident is repeated in the Babylonian Gilgames's epic. After he received the wound from Ishtar, Gilgames lingered for twelve days before he died. During that time he implored the gods of the lower world to restore him to life.

In the episode of Samvarana and Tapati, preserved in the *Mahabharata*, it is related that Samvarana (the sun) died for love of Tapati (the sun-maiden). He lay insensible for twelve days at the end of which period he was recalled to life by Vasishta.

'*The twelve days' sleep conclusively marks this year as one of three seasons which closed with the twelve days revel before the winter solstice, ending with the death of the hunted sun-god as in Scandinavia.*']

It is clear from the Puranas that the period of Bhishma Panchakam was started in connection with a year which reckoned  $348+12$  days. The year was of three seasons and was divided into three quaternary or Chatur-masya periods. The third period closed at one time with the Ekadasi or Dwadasi, eleventh or twelfth day, of the bright half of Kartica, which half would close that month.

The third period of four months was the season of winter and rains. Bleak winds and dark nights, with a poor appetite for food, marked the closing days in particular. This period of four months was the period of the god's sleep (sun's).

Vishnu goes to sleep in Āshādḥa on the Ekadasi day and gets up from sleep on the Ekadasi of Kartica, i.e., after a period of four months—an unconscionably long period of hibernation even for a god—unmeaning except as applied to the sun in the higher latitudes.

The true period of the closing twelve days' sleep was by the choice or caprice of the Sanskrit priestcraft extended to the entire period of four

months. Arduous religious exercises of one form or other, with fasts and penances, were prescribed for the whole period.

Yudhishthira appeals pathetically to his friend and mentor, Krishna, in the words following:—

प्रभृतानि त्वयोक्तानि व्रतानि पुरुषोत्तम ।

प्रसूते पुण्डरीकाक्षे येषां संख्या न विद्यते ॥

‘O Krishna! many and varied are the Vratams you have enumerated for observance during the period of the god’s sleep. Their number it is impossible to count.’

As this period of four months was the closing period of the year, so the month of Kartica was the last month of this period as also of the year. For that reason the Puranists redoubled their energies with respect to this month, and the religious tasks assigned and fasts enjoined for the days of this month would make one feel that life was not worth living on such conditions.

The whole month was a period of a very exacting and rigorous Lent.

As it was not probable that the householder would have duly observed the Vratams spread over the rest of the year, it was necessary that something should be done to make up for lost time. For, once the Kartica month is passed, the year is ended and there is no chance for retrieval. It was therefore very desirable to group as many Vratams as possible into this, the last month, no doubt, for the spiritual ennoblement of the householder, under the ministration of the priests.

The reader has to be informed that there are two methods in use in India for reckoning the lunar months. In Upper India in some places the month endures from full-moon to full-moon; in some provinces it is from new-moon to new-moon. This results in some anomalies in Puranic literature, which are apparent but not real. For instance, the day of Dipāvali is a fixed one. In some Puranas it is treated as occurring in the second or dark half of Āswayuja which is the month next prior to Kartica; this is so where the month begins with the new-moon and ends accordingly. But the second or dark half of Āswayuja is the first half of the month of Kartica in the other calendar in which the Dipavali is assigned to Kartica. In Peninsular India the reckoning is from new-moon to new-moon. Another circumstance to be noted is the computation of the day. This may be done either from midnight to midnight (popular), or from sunrise to sunrise (ritualistic).

Apart from its being the initial day of the Bhishma Panchakam, the eleventh day of the bright half of Kartica is a very important day—perhaps the most important day of the month. It is the day on the night of which the

sleeping god, Vishnu, is awakened from his slumbers or the wounded god is quickened into new life. The day is known as Prabodhinī (प्रबोधिनी एकादशी) or the eleventh day of the fortnight on which the god is awakened from sleep. All the gods of Heaven, great and small, go up in groups to his dormitory. He is found lying in sleep on the coils of a huge serpent, floating like a raft or a buoy on the surface of the ocean. The hour when the miscellaneous gods led by Brahma and Indra swarm round him is midnight. They form a chorus and sing songs, odes and panegyrics. They vociferate hallelujahs. They ring bells. They tell the God that the worst of winter is over, that the skies are clear of clouds, that the spring is peeping in, and that it is time for the God to rub his eyes and look about. The God rises to the call. A grand procession is formed and at once the sleeper awakened proceeds to Heaven. Therefore on that night, on this earth, the God in the temples and the households is to be awakened. Bells should be kept pealing in the temple and the God in the temple should be taken out in procession in a big car, in the middle of the night, so that the whole world might know that Vishnu is arisen and pay due homage to him.

As to the day and hour of the awakening of the God it is significant that the authorities are divided and conflicting. The texts are collected and discussed in a work named *Smṛiti-Kaustubha* of Anantadeva. A certain text says that one goes to sleep in the night and gets up in the morning, and therefore the God should be awakened not on the midnight of the eleventh day but on the twelfth day. This is intelligible, the idea is apparently due to the computation of the day from sunrise to sunrise.

Some texts are positive that the awakening should be on the twelfth day, though not for the reason suggested above; and that it should be done in the night of the twelfth day, the hour depending on a certain position of the constellation, Pisces. The significance of this avowal should not be lost sight of. It is also stated, that if the approved position of that constellation cannot be had on that night, the awakening may be done earlier in the night or also in the day—though night is suggested as preferable. About the twelfth day and night there is no doubt, for it is also said that, Pisces or no Pisces, the awakening should be only on the twelfth. When the gods go up to waken Vishnu, they say to him :—

इयं च द्वादशी देव प्रबोधार्थं विनिर्मिता ।

त्वयैव सर्वलोकानां हितार्थं शेषशायिना ॥

“Lord! This is the day, the twelfth day, appointed by yourself to wake you up, for the weal of the Universe.”

It is probable that at first, twelve days were recognized as the days of the God's sleep, in accordance with what we find to have been the practice among

the nations of the world; that subsequently there was a variation and the sleep was confined to Eleven days only; that the practice in the provinces varied, some following the old rule and some the new. The commentators, faced with the difficulty of having to apply conflicting texts, make some attempts to harmonize them which are not convincing. At least one of them makes the matter depend on the convenience or caprice of the individual householder as to when he started and when he proposes to end his Lent! This cannot be admitted, for the God's awakening must be regulated by some rule of general application and not made to rest on the caprice of the man in the street.

The writers wind up with the remark that "it is all according to custom." We may now take it that the period of the God's sleep is twelve days and that in this connection eleven is only a variation of twelve.

The half-month which ended previously closed the period of 348 days, that is the year of 12 months with 29 days in the month. I speak of the half-month in accordance with the practice of reckoning the month from full-moon to full-moon. But according to the other usage of making up the month from new-moon to new-moon, the day before the sleep starts closed a month as it did a year (lunar).

It is important to know that either way the last day of the 348 days was Dipavali day—the day from which even now among the Guzeratis and some others, the new year starts and the old year closes.

It is clear, therefore, that with the awakening of the God, whenever that may be, the period of  $348 + 12$  or 360 days closes. That was the period assigned to the year in the old computation.

A further advance of knowledge among the nations, due mostly to the circumstance that the new year's day and the religious days connected with the seasons still shifted their place, with the year of 360 days, opened their eyes to the fact that the year, measured correctly according to the sun's course, comprised 365 days, and that no precision was possible unless 5 days were added to the year of 360 days, and the calendar rectified accordingly. This innovation was then made, and in the first instance, the year stood like this: 348 days of the 12 months ( $12 \times 29$ ) *plus* 12 days of the God's sleep *plus* 5 days newly added, which are spoken of as the Epagomenal days, or days brought on *i.e.*  $348 + 12 + 5 = 365$ . *These Epagomenal days are the days of Bhishma Panchakam.* Once introduced they had to be accounted for.

At one time after this intercalation was brought in, the idea seems to have been formed of prolonging the God's sleep into these five days also, and the ceremony of awakening him was prescribed for these five days.

A text is cited, saying (*Smriti Kaustubha*, p. 288) :—



कार्तिकस्य सिते पक्षे तदेव दिनपञ्चकम् ।

विबोधयन्ति देवेशं गत्वा सेन्द्रा दिवौकसः ॥

( इत्येकादशीमारभ्य दिनपञ्चकं प्रबोधकालत्वेनोक्तम् )

‘ During these five days of the bright half of Kartica, the gods led by Indra go to rouse the great God from his slumbers ’. The idea is that they do it day after day and that he actually rises at the end of this period, not that they do it on one or other of these days. According to another text, the awakening is confined to the Fifteenth day, the day of the full-moon.

आषाढे शुक्लपक्षान्ते भगवान् मधुसूदनः ।

भोगिभोगे निजां मायां योगनिद्रां समाप्नुयात् ॥

शेतेसौ चतुरोमासान् यावद्भवति कार्तिकी ॥

( पक्षान्ते इत्युपक्रमात् पूर्णमास्येव प्रबोधकालत्वेन प्रतीयते )

‘ The Lord Vishnu goes to sleep on the last day of the bright half of the month of Ashādha. His sleep continues through four months, the last of which is Kartica.’ The author of the *Kaustubha* remarks : ‘ The use of the words *last day of the half month* makes it clear that the awakening should be on the full-moon day only.’

The result is that the true awakening is only at the close of these five days, or the close of the 365 days of the solar tropical year.

\* \* \* \* \*

The ancient Egyptians claimed the honour of having discovered these five days. But perhaps they were not right there. The matter is discussed in the learned work of Rev. William Hales (1830)—*A New Analysis of Chronology, etc.* He says : The Egyptians claimed that one of their Gods (answering to the Greek Hermes) made this discovery. Herodotus says that the Egyptians were the first to discover this. Jackson dates this to the time of Sesostris in 1308 B.C.

This intercalation of five days was carried out by the Chaldeans, Medes, Persians, Egyptians, Grecians, Romans and even Mexicans. It appears that the Chinese regulated the year to 365 days as early as 2269 B.C.

Hales is of opinion that the Chaldeans must have known that their year fell short by five days, as early as 2253 B.C.; that the knowledge and the intercalation originated among them and spread to their neighbours east and west, let me add, inclusive of the Sanskrit races, wherever they were in upper or lower Asia when they received the knowledge. Hence the great antiquity ascribed to the practice of Bhishma Panchakam in the Purana texts cited already.

The supernumerary days were intercalated by all the nations mentioned above *at the end of their civil year*. So it was in the Puranic year also.

Once the additional five days got into the reckoning, every nation started Puranic tales about them and about the antiquity of the reckoning *among their own ancestors*. According to the Egyptians, some of their Gods, those of the Osiris family, were born on those days, and those days were accordingly dedicated to them.

Dr. Albert Churchward in his learned work '*On the Signs and Symbols of Primordial Man*' refers to these five days and says (at page 14) speaking of the members of the Osiris family, "They were not all born at one place or on the same day. According to the Solar Mythos, they were born on the five epagomenal days. On the first of these days was the birth of Osiris. On the second that of Horus. On the third that of Set. On the fourth that of Isis. On the fifth that of Nephthys."

(An inscription of Pepi II. in one of the Pyramid texts, refers to the fact that the Gods were born on the five additional days.)

Dr. Churchward adds about ancient Mexico: "The nations of ancient Mexico reckoned their time as the Egyptians did, from whom they obtained their knowledge of time, seasons and festivals, etc. They observed the above five days as the Egyptians did. Among the Mexicans, these five days were not dedicated to any god but they were called 'superfluous', 'unfit', 'useless', 'unlucky'. This was the same throughout Yucatan, Mexico and the states of Central America. In Yucatan they were called 'days without names'. They were not dropped out of reckoning but were considered 'unlucky days' and nothing was done during those days one way or the other. Simply counted in silence and interpolated to make the 365 days of the year, just as the Egyptians did."

I have stated above that the *Bhavishya Purana* has made some important omissions in its account of the Panchakam. Two of these I have referred to already. There is a third which, in my opinion, is certainly inexcusable. The *Skanda* says in C. 32 (Vol. II, Book IV), Verse 34 (copied in the *Padma*) what is conclusive on this topic:—

उत्तरायणहीनाय भीष्माय प्रददौ हरिः ।

उत्तरायणहीनेपि शुद्धलभं सुतोषितः ॥

'Bhishma was mortally wounded. In the ordinary course of nature, he should have died almost at once. But on that day five days were wanting for the advent of Uttarayanam or the winter solstice. It was very regrettable that Bhishma should die in Dakshinayanam and therefore Krishna, out of regard for the fallen hero, extended his life by five days, so that he might have a pure and faultless hour in which to give up the ghost.' Uttarayanam is the half year from the winter solstice to the summer solstice.

Dakshinayanam is the other half, *i.e.*, from summer solstice to winter solstice.

It was a settled superstition among the ancestors of the Sanskrit races of the early period that it was very unfortunate to die in Dakshinayanam.

The reason probably was that the departing soul on its outward journey would have very little of cheer and comfort, due to want of adequate sunshine and to darkness, cold and rain.

This notion must have had its origin only in climes of colder latitudes and could not have arisen in India.

The notion continues in India to this day having got into the sacred writings very early. So that when a person dies in Dakshinayanam, previous to the cremation of the corpse, a short formula of expiatory mantrams is gone through and the misfortune of the unseasonable death is removed by a trifling gift to the priest or other Brahmin.

When Bhishma of the *Mahabharata* lay wounded on the field, a band of Rishis, who had changed themselves into swans and were proceeding somewhere, chanced to fly over the battle-field. From the sky they recognized the wounded warrior. They believed that he was about to die. This would be a great misfortune to a man universally esteemed. The swans cried out in sympathy—

भीष्मः कथं महत्मा सन् संस्थाता दक्षिणायने ।

‘Should then the great Bhishma die in Dakshinayanam?’

The wounded hero caught the words and shouted an answer : ‘No, no. I am not going. I shall wait until the sun comes round to the solstice.’

So these five days were the days wanting, and therefore intercalated, to make the full tale of 365 days, to carry on the expiring year to the point of time of the winter-solstice, when the new sun creeps over the horizon, and the priest may break his staff and say ‘The sun is dead, long live the sun.’

I hope that the true meaning of Bhishma Panchakam is now clear to the reader.

\* \* \* \* \*

Some considerations arise from the story of Vishnu's sleep which require to be pondered to enable one to understand the true meaning of the fable. Why does this sleeping-sickness attack *this god* in particular? It is not endemic nor epidemic. No other god is similarly afflicted. And besides, it seems to be a chronic malady, for it comes on year after year. He should be the last god to be troubled with any such ailment. He is charged with the administration, upkeep and maintenance, of the whole universe, not of our globe only. What becomes of the other worlds during

this period? It is very unfortunate that he should be unable to attend to his work for a third of the year. When the gods rouse the sleeper they say :—

उत्तिष्ठोत्तिष्ठ गोविन्द त्यज निद्रां जगत्पते ।

त्वयि सुप्ते जगत् सुप्तमुत्थिते चेत्थितं जगत् ॥

‘Waken, O Lord! Waken. For while you sleep the whole universe sleeps and when you waken the universe awakens.’

He appears to be as much liable to the tyranny of fate and destiny as any of his votaries. For, it may be presumed that, if he could avoid it, he would gladly do his best to prevent the sickness coming on. Any other in his position would do so, at least after the bitter experience of one year. The constancy and persistence of the malady is wonderful. It attacks the god every year, as we mortals know it, at the same point of time; and it holds on for a period of four months every year, also leaving off at the same point of time in the year. Why should this period synchronize with the last four months of a mortal man’s year? Why does the sickness leave off just at the close of the same year? Winter, rains, cold and foul weather, affecting this earth, may bring on rheumatism and kindred troubles to some men, but this god lives in high heaven where, I presume, there can be no such trouble. At least, one is led to think so by the glowing descriptions given of the climatic conditions obtaining there, and the constant sermons in every literature of the desirability of going there for a permanent residence. But it may be that the weather conditions on this globe afflict even the Most High. For on the night of the awakening, the god is told by his votaries :—

गता मेघा वियच्चैव निर्मलं निर्मला दिशः ।

शारदानि च पुष्पाणि गृहाण मम केशव ॥

‘The clouds are gone, the sky is clear and so are the cardinal points. Be pleased to take the earliest flowers of the new season.’

Why should the health of this god of Vaikuntham be injuriously affected by the clouds and rains of our globe? Their presence throws him into a sleep and their absence rouses him from the hypnotic trance as by the touch or word of the master. And next, why should the god make his bed on the waters of the ocean in the sort of weather that prevails during the period stated? Exposed on every side, night and day, to stormy winds, rains and foul weather, and reduced to the condition of a derelict wreck, the god must be eking out a miserable existence.

Why does he not sleep in his own bed-room in Vaikuntham where, we are told, he has a splendid mansion paved with gold, commanding all divine conveniences? Does he make his bed in the ocean for an agreeable change in such weather?

It is obvious that the story of the long sleep is thoroughly unmeaning with respect to Vishnu, or any other Olympian, as the Puranas picture them. They make sense only when Vishnu is identified with the visible sun. The story must have had its origin in sub-arctic climates. The sun falls ill in the last of the Chaturmasya periods as his power to give out light, heat and warmth is very much impaired during that time. He is certainly not wide awake.

He is ill or sleepy, more and more so, day after day; and at one time closed his career at the end of the year. Subsequently he is restored to life or awakened from sleep and set up on his legs for a fresh start. The sleep in or on the waters of the ocean comes natural to the sun, for that is his home. Hence his name Narayana (which means having his home or birth in the waters) applied also to Vishnu. The ancients believed that the earth was entirely encompassed by the ocean; that the sun, the moon and the constellations all rose from the ocean and set therein. This was the belief of Homer also, (Strabo) and is reflected in several of his passages.

Modern poets following classical models have occasionally reproduced the idea. Milton has the following in *Lycidas* :—

“So sinks the day-star in the ocean bed,  
And yet anon repairs his drooping head,  
And tricks his beams, and with new-spangled ore,  
Flames in the forehead of the morning sky.”

And again,

“And now the sun had stretched out all the hills,  
And now was dropt into the western bay.”

There are plenty of similar passages in Sanskrit works also. The serpent who serves as a mattress for Vishnu is well-known in mythology as a cognizance of the sun.

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Why was the name of the Bhishma of the *Mahabharata* associated with this intercalated period?

It is not possible to state how much of historical or traditional foundation there was for the story of the great war. What has been said on the subject from time to time is nothing but surmise. Knowledge on this subject to-day is no better than it was when the inquiry started years ago.

The framers of the Bharata, in the first instance, purported to give the story of the dynastic war in the epic. But in doing so they conceived the idea of building up a great astronomical drama (J. F. Hewitt). Side by side with the under-current of the story, they invested the *dramatis personæ*,

real or fictitious, with the habiliments of star-leaders and sun-gods. They took note of successive cycles of time-measurement, each later superseding the earlier one. This theme was their favourite study. The sun-gods, the moon-gods and the star-leaders, prominently associated with the systems of time-measurement of the several epochs, were symbolized in the actors of *Mahabharata* and ranged on either side as combatants. A later cycle and a superseded one are brought into conflict, with the necessary result that the later triumphs over the earlier. Among these personæ of the astronomical drama three names may be singled out: Karna, Bhishma and Arjuna. These three were sun-gods. This character is quite transparent in the case of Karna. But this is not the place in which to dilate on the topic. Arjuna, who triumphs over him, symbolized the latest achievement of the sacrificial priests in setting up a new ritualistic year and a sun free from the influence of the moon or the star-leaders. So freed, his hands are his own, both of them. So that he is सव्यसाची (an attributive name of Arjuna) or ambi-dexterous and triumphs over all his enemies. Bhishma, the patriarch, was the sexless sun-god of an anterior epoch and was put forward to symbolize the wounded sun-god, dying and making way for a new sun (Arjuna). Before the epagomenal days were brought in, the god's sleep of twelve days helped to bring up the count of the days in the year to the round number of 360. But five days had to be added after the discovery of the shortage was made. When they were so added some fable had to be invented to account for them; for, by the laws of all priestcraft, the truth should never be told.

One attempt, perhaps what occurs most readily, was to eke out the period of the god's sleep as the text already referred to plainly shows. But this did not hold for long. After some time a variant was hit upon which would be equally effective, less objectionable, and in perfect harmony with the traditions of mythic invention. Bhishma, as the wounded sun-god of the *Bharata*, came in handy and these days were declared to be his days. As the result of revisions, of interpolations, and the changes in the start and close of the ritualistic year, the *Mahabharata*, as finally redacted, makes the extinction of Bhishma occur in Magha (February) on a day which, in the province of Bombay, is fixed in the Dharma Sastras for Sukla (white half) Ashtami, the eighth day, and elsewhere on the eleventh day of that month. (Even these days are fixed according to the position of the sun who then takes a decidedly northward course.) The Tarpanams to Bhishma are transferred to this day. This day, whether the eighth or the eleventh, is now the only day indicated for the service of Bhishma. There is no repetition of the Panchakam here or the elaborate ritual already described.

For what length of time the intercalation of the epagomenal days continued in practice I am not now able to say. The Vratam connected with it appears to have become obsolete very early. The reckonings connected with the measurement of the year changed frequently; twelve months became thirteen, then fifteen and later eighteen. The duration and number of weeks also changed. All these changes were known only to the ritualistic calendar of the sacrificial priests. The masses had a popular or vague year. In some provinces the year reckoned only 355 days and the intercalation took a new form. Every third year, a whole month was added, and the three years' combination brought up into some accord with the tropical solar triennium. This practice continues even now. When this change took place, there was no need of a sleeping god or a wounded god. Accordingly, these gods and the myths, legends and Vratams connected with them, became things of the past.

The Krita and Treta examples of the practice of Bhishma Panchakam probably have reference only to the antiquity of the intercalation among the nations to our west. They need not be necessarily construed as implying the observance of the Vratam among the ancestors of the Sanskrit Aryans as early as the said Yugas. This is more probable from the blank left about the Dwapara Yuga.

Very few, even among Sastris, know anything about *Bhishma Panchakam* in these days. The Vratam is never performed, but having been once introduced in the remote past, it is treated and discussed elaborately in the Dharma Sastras in every-day use even now.

It is not to be supposed that the days specified in the Puranas for Bhishma Panchakam would, in the conditions now obtaining, close any year or operate to bring up the number of the days in the year to 365. Nor is it very certain that even in the Puranic days it was so. We may take it that when the extra days *were first intercalated*, in some ancient period, they were brought on for that purpose, and may have continued to implement accordingly, as long as the reckonings and the calendar remained in the same condition. But the methods of the priests changed from time to time; old reckonings were swept away, new ideas, new myths and new practices came in. The Vratam of Bhishma Panchakam, however, having been enjoined at one time with a fanfare of Puranic flourishes, an elaborate ritual and barefaced falsehoods, was allowed to continue in the books, something like an antique in an old-curiosity shop. As an antique, however, it is very valuable to show that the intercalation of five days to make up 365 for the year was adopted and practised by our ancients, as also to show the usual methods of our Puranists.

Before closing this essay, I have to say that the intercalation of five days did not completely put an end to the trouble. The equation with the tropical solar year was not complete, for it required six hours more to make the reckoning correct. This slight margin of error caused great confusion in the regulation of the new year and other sacred days in the calendar in a cycle of several hundreds of years (Hales). 'The defect of the Egyptian civil year after the introduction of the five epagomenal days was six hours in one year, or one day in four years. So in a cycle of  $4 \times 365 = 1460$  years, it would amount to an entire year, 1461 civil years = 1460 solar years. Consequently, in the course of this period, the beginning of the Egyptian year shifted its place backwards through every season, until it came round again to the same place.' (Compare the Muslim year in use in India.)

'The ancient Egyptians claimed to have discovered later the defect about the six hours. But they did not intercalate these six hours and the priests were bound by oath not to intercalate the same. Hence this redundancy was confined to the priests and the astronomers, nor was it communicated to the Greeks until long after.'

'Herodotus was ignorant of it. Plato and Eudoxus learnt it as a mystery from the priests of Heliopolis and Memphis, and imparted the knowledge to the Greeks, who intercalated a whole day every fourth year when the Olympic games were celebrated.'

Priestcraft is the same everywhere. The Sanskrit priests were bound similarly by religious oaths and masonic covenants not to reveal such secrets. Their end and aim was only to mystify things, and one should be very bold to say that they did not succeed admirably in the accomplishment of their designs.

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# SVETASVATAROPANISHAD.

English Metrical Translation with Explanatory Notes.

BY D. VENKATRAMIAH, ESQ., B.A., L.T.

## FOURTH DISCOURSE.

1. He is alone, of names and forms bereft ;  
And to His premeditated cosmic plan  
He fashions myriad names and forms with the aid  
Of His infinite power what time the worlds begin,  
And dooms them all at last ; May He, the Lord,  
On us bestow abundant wisdom pure.

The devotee prays to God for the highest knowledge. Certain words and phrases in this mantra are differently interpreted but the gist is clear.

- अवर्णः— i. नामरूपशून्यः, devoid of names and forms ; *lit.* colourless.  
ii. जात्यादि रहितः ; निर्विशेष इत्यर्थः, attributeless.  
iii. वर्णयेते इति वर्णः—पदार्थाः ; He is अवर्ण, something indescribable ; He is not any phenomenon, but what lies behind it—the noumenon.

शक्तियोगात्-मायासंबन्धात्—by the power of *Maya*.

वर्णान्—names and forms.

निहितार्थः—i. स्रष्टव्यविषयेक्षणेनिक्षिप्तोऽर्थः, having designed beforehand specifically what He should create.

Cp. “तदैक्षत बहुस्यां प्रजायेयेति” *Chand.* vi. 2-3.

- ii. अगृहीतार्थः—स्वार्थनिरपेक्ष इत्यर्थः, Himself desiring nothing ; detached, the object of creation being to reward the *jivas* in accordance with their *Karma*.

दधाति-विदधाति—creates ; ‘आदौ’ should be taken with ‘दधाति’.

विचैति-आदौ विश्वरूपस्सन् अन्ते (अवसाने) व्येति (विएति), विनाशं गच्छति, कार्यरूपं जहाति—  
in the beginning of creation *Isvara* appears as *Virat* representing the Universe as a whole and at *pralaya* reverts to the causal form.

शुभया बुध्या नः युनक्तु—may He with blessed thoughts join us ; *i e.*, may He endow us with wisdom to realize the Brahman.

2. That verily is Fire, that’s Sun, that’s Wind  
Ev’n that is Moon, the starry Sphere is that,  
That’s Brahman, that’s Water, and that the ruler of men.
3. Thou art woman, Thou art man, Thou art lad  
And Thou art lass and Thou outworn dost trudge  
Along with staff in hand ; even Thou, O Lord  
Dost incarnate in shapes innumerable,

4. Thou art the black-bee and parrot green and too  
The red-eyed bird, Thou art the thunder-cloud  
And Thou the seasons and the oceans all ;  
Of infinite nature Thou, art beginningless,  
From Thee alone are all the worlds begot.

These three mantras emphasize the fact that creation is not to be thought of as existing independently of Brahman. The universe with all its variety and complexity being an effect has no existence apart from the cause which is the Brahman. The advaitic view is that the Absolute is not only the efficient cause (निमित्त) but also the material cause (उपादान) of the world. Sankara in his Commentary on the *Brahma Sutras* quotes the third verse in support of the view that the Highest Brahman is the essence of all creation. Now the material cause necessarily pervades the whole effect ; so the statement in verse three that Brahman is immanent : *Cp.* Sankara on *Ved. Sutras*, I. 2-2.

5. A she-goat flecked with red and white and dark  
There goes, from whom a progeny manifold  
Doth spring of the self-same hue and her forsooth  
A he-goat follows in loving service drawn  
But another goat discards the spotted one  
That revels in the worldly pleasures sweet.

Here in figurative language is expressed the cause of bondage as also the means of release. The she-goat is the primordial beginningless *Maya* by the operation of which the worlds of forms and names are generated. The he-goat first mentioned is the ignorant individual soul which, oblivious of its own true nature, pursues with zest the phantom joys of this life. The other ram, however, is the knowing soul which, with the purifying means of *jnana*, discards altogether the world-phantasmagoria.

अजां—न जायते इत्यजा, तां—that which is unborn, *i.e.*, *Maya* which is the beginningless prime cause, *lit.* a she-goat.

एकां—because the sway of *Maya* is universal.

लोहितशुक्लकृष्णां—having the three colours, red, white and black.

Now the question is what is the propriety in attributing these colours to *Maya*. We must note that the three colours stand for three *gunas*: goodness (सत्त्व), passion (रजस्) and delusion (तमस्) abiding in *Maya* in a state of equipoise. Here it may be observed that by the term अजा, the Sankhyas understand प्रधान which, according to them, is the primal cause of the Universe. Badarayana in his *Sutra* I. 4-8, controverts the Sankhya interpretation and maintains that *pradhana* is not meant here. His view is that the *gunas* mentioned are the three elements “तेजोबन्ध” *i.e.*, light, water, and food (earth). Sankara prefers to take ‘अजा’ in the sense of *Maya* as being most appropriate to the context.

For a fuller discussion of this topic *vide Badarayana Sutras*, I. 4, 8, and 9, and Sankara’s comment thereon.

वह्नीः प्रजाः—untold objects of creation.

सरूपाः—समानरूपाः—of the same nature as *Maya*.

एको अजः—the *jiva* or individual soul. एकः—one, contrasted with अन्यः—another in the next pada. अजः—unborn ; the bondage of *Maya* is without a beginning. Hence the jivahood of Brahman is also beginningless.

जुषमाणः—सेवमानः—सानुरागं सवां कुर्वाणः—serving with much love.

अनुशेते—भजति—courts ; owing to the darkening effects of *Maya*, the Self forgets its real nature and loses itself in the allurements of the world. This is bondage.

अन्यो अजः—that Self on the other hand which is free from nescience.

एनां—this *Maya* which screens reality and projects the multiplex forms.

भुक्तभोगां—that which enjoys the pleasures.

The man of understanding overcomes *Maya* and becomes fit for liberation.

6. A brace of bright-winged birds as comrades dwell  
In proximity close on the self-same tree,  
And one of them the savoury fruit doth eat,  
The other not but constant witness bears.

7. And on that tree the one confounded lies  
In impotence and lamentation dire  
All forlorn. But when the awakening comes,  
And he the other one sees, the Mighty Lord  
Whose glory is this world, his sorrow quits.

The two mantras are the same as 1 and 2 of *Mundakopanishad*, III. 1. See the notes thereon in my translation of that Upanishad.

8. And all the Gods their refuge find in Him  
Of whom the scriptures speak, the Eternal Lord  
Exalted and of ethereal mould ; to him  
That fails to know this being, of what avail  
Is all this Vedic lore ? But they that know  
The Lord shall reach a state of bliss supreme.

ऋचः—the gen. sing. of *rik* which stands here for all the Vedas. The word may also be taken as plu. nom. in which case the meaning would be that all the Vedas and Gods reside in Brahman.

अक्षरे—in Isvara who is imperishable.

व्योमन्-व्योम्नि-आकाशे—Isvara is compared to *akasa* on account of his all-pervadingness.

देवाः—हिरण्यगर्भादयः—Hiranyagarbha and other Gods.

निषेदुः—आश्रितास्तिष्ठन्ति—they remain in Brahman who is their refuge.

यस्तं न वेद किमृचाकरिष्यति—what can he do with the Vedas who fails to comprehend Isvara ?

य इत्तद्विदुः—ये इत् तत् विदुः ; इत्-इत्थं—शास्त्रोपदिष्टप्रकारं—as enjoined in the Sastras.

तत्—तच्छब्दवाच्यं परं—Parabrahman as indicated by the word 'That' in 'Thou art' (तत्त्वमसि).

विदुः—understand.

ते इमे—such men as these.

समासते—कृतार्थास्तिष्ठन्ति—fulfil their life-purpose.

9. The sacred chants and holy offerings  
 The sacrifices, penances, things past  
 And future too, of which the Vedas speak,  
 From that, the immutable, the Lord of Maya  
 Creates, aye, all this Universe, in which  
 The other is held in chains by illusion forged.

छन्दांसि—the scriptural hymns.

यज्ञाः—sacrifices or worship.

क्रतवः—refers particularly to sacrifices in which animal offerings are made like *ryostoma*.

व्रतानि—penances like fasting or vows of celibacy.

भूतं भव्यं यच्च वेदा वदन्ति—all that is declared in the Vedas relating to the past, present and future.

अस्मात्—from the Absolute, the Immutable.

How is Brahman, the Immutable, the cause of the Universe? The answer is that it is the मायी, the Lord with the aid of *Maya* who creates.

तस्मिन्—in this Universe.

अन्यः—the *jiva*.

मायया सन्निरुद्धः—is held fast in *Mayic* bonds.

The purport of the Mantra is that the Absolute is but the substratum of all creation since the created world is a mere appearance. The intrusion of *Maya* posits *Isvara* who wielding its mighty power brings the Universe into existence. The *jivas* or individual souls on the other hand are deluded by the beginningless illusion and remain held in bondage. It must be noted that *Maya* is associated both with *jiva* and *Isvara*; yet the one is deluded by it while the other uses it at will for the creation of the Universe.

10. Then know that *Maya* is the primal cause,  
 The Lord on high, the wielder of *Mayic* power  
 And all that constitute the Universe  
 To sense revealed, are but the limbs of God.

This is an oft-quoted Mantra. The Absolute which is of the nature of consciousness and bliss conditioned by the beginningless *avidya* becomes, as it were, the cause of the Universe and is therefore known as *Mayin*. The conditioned Absolute is *Isvara* who is the life-giver and impeller of all beings and is the sustainer of the world-illusion.

मायान्तु प्रकृतिं विंयात्—*Maya* or *Prakriti* should be understood as the evolutionary cause of the world but not independently of *Purusha* as the Sankhyas suppose.

तस्य-परमेश्वरस्य—of the Lord.

अवयवभूतैः—forming parts or limbs.

The commentator Narayana explains as follows : अस्य परमेश्वरस्य अवयव-भूतैः, अवयवत्वं प्राप्तेः जीवैः सर्वमिदं जगत् व्याप्तं ; अवयवत्वं उपचारात्—The individual souls which constitute the Universe must be regarded as the parts of *Isvara*, but of course in a figurative sense. It is the Absolute which gives existence and cognizableness to the world.

व्याप्तं—अध्यस्तत्वेनैव व्याप्तं, ननु स्वपरिणामत्वेन—The divine pervasion of the Universe is not to be supposed to be wrought by any modification in Brahman. It is mere superimposition.

11. 'Tis He the Being lone, the sole abode  
Of sources all from which the creation springs  
In whom this all its dissolution finds  
Alike its myriad forms respring at birth ;  
Him the Lord, the granter of gifts, the Light,  
The Adorable, whoever comprehends  
Eternal peace and happiness attains.

Several causes appear to be operating in the production of the world and the question is which among them is the Brahman. The Mantra clears the doubt.

यः—ईश्वरः—Isvara.

यो योनिं—योनि, origin or cause. The phrase suggests *Maya*, the root cause and all the entities that subsequently serve as causes in the production of this complex world.

अधितिष्ठति—(Isvara) is the substratum of all the causes.

‘योनिं योनिं’—may be split up into यः अयोनिं ; hence the clause ‘अयोनिं योनिं अधितिष्ठति’ means—He is the ground of *Maya*, the primal cause which is itself causeless, and of other links in the whole chain of causation.

एकः—the one only ; कारणाधिष्ठातृ भेदं वारयति—by stating that Brahman is the only entity, the Mantra wards off the supposition that causes other than Isvara exist. He is the cause of all causes, सर्वकारणकारणः.

यस्मिन्निदं—यस्मिन्—in whom (in Isvara conditioned by *Maya*); इदं—विविधप्रत्ययगम्यं जगत्, the world which is the object of manifold cognitions.

संचविचैति—समेति—उपसंहारकाले सर्वमिदं जगत् एति—at the time of universal dissolution the Universe is withdrawn into Him.

व्येतिच—सृष्टिकाले विविधं एति—वियदादि रूपेण पृथग्भवति—at the time of creation it again manifests itself in variety, like ether, air, etc.

तं ईशानं—that Ruler.

निचाय्य, निश्चयेन ब्रह्मास्मीत्यपरोक्षीकृत्य—with the unfaltering consciousness of one's identity with the Brahman.

शान्तिं—the final beatitude.

एति—obtains.

12. He in whom the Gods their origin find,  
And liberation too, the transcendent Lord,  
Rudra, the Seer Great who witness bore  
To Hiranyagarbha's birth—may He on us  
Bestow intelligence and felicity.

This Mantra which is almost identical with III. 4. emphasizes the need for constant prayer to obtain divine grace.

13. Who's sovereign over the Gods, in whom the worlds  
Their one asylum seek, who rules over beings  
That walk the earth two-footed and four-footed ;  
May we propitiate the Blessed Lord.

अधिथिताः—अधि-उपरि ; श्रिताः—अध्यस्तः—(the worlds are) superimposed on Brahman.  
 ईशे—is Vedic for ईष्टे (ईश-शासने), present 3rd. pers. sing.  
 कस्मै—काय—मुखरूपाय—to Him whose nature is bliss.  
 हविषा—चरु पुरोडाशादि द्रव्येण—with oblations consisting of boiled rice and flour-cake.  
 विधेम—परिचरेम—imp. 1st. pers. plu., let us propitiate.

14. And subtler far than subtlest midst this gloom  
 Creator of all this Universe, of forms  
 Infinite, alone embracing all the worlds,  
 Who knows this Lord of Bliss, for sure attains  
 Peace and tranquillity without end.

कलिलस्य मध्ये—प्रकृतिप्राकृताख्यस्य संसारस्य गहनस्य मध्ये—within the inaccessible fortress  
 of *Samsara* walled round as it were by nescience and all that follows in  
 its train. Isvara dwells as the inner witness of this *Mayic* Universe.  
 परिवेष्टितारं—स्वरूपस्फुरणप्रदत्वेन, परितः, अन्तर्बहिश्च वेष्टितारं—Isvara whose being and efful-  
 gence pervade the world both inside and outside.  
 The latter half of the verse is only a variant of III. 7.

15. The self-same Lord extends His protecting hand  
 What time the worlds exist and holds His rule  
 O'er all the Universe and stays concealed  
 In beings all ; the Brahmarshis and eke  
 The Gods united dwell in Him. And he  
 Who knows Him thus shall tear the cords of death.

काले—स्थितिकाले—at the time the worlds exist.

यस्मिन्—in God who is bliss eternal.

युक्ताः—united ; the word may also mean ऐक्यं प्राप्ताः, who have realized their identity with  
 Him.

मृत्युपाशान्—the fetters of Death.

16. Thin as the film on the top of melted butter  
 Is the Lord, the Blessed, hidden in beings all,  
 One only of the worlds, pervading all,  
 Cognizing Him the luminous Self, the sage  
 From numerous bonds of life is ever freed.

घृतात्परं—on the surface of clarified butter.

मण्डं—film.

शिवं—blessed.

Just as the top layer of melted butter which is its very essence is pleasant  
 to the taste, Isvara is the most cherished and loved Being, since He blesses  
 the devotee with the highest happiness.

नर्बभूतेषु गूढम्—ब्रह्मादि स्तम्बपर्यन्तेषु कर्मफलभोगसाक्षित्वेन प्रत्यक्षतया वर्तमानमपि तैस्त्रिस्तु-  
 तेश्वरभावं—though the Lord is ever present in all beings from Brahma

down to an insect as the inner witness of their enjoyment of *Karmic* fruit, He lies hidden from them as they in their ignorance fail to cognize His divinity.

17. This luminous Lord is the maker of all the worlds ;  
The mighty Soul, He dwells always within  
The hearts of men ; with contemplation pure  
And mind controlled He's reached, immortal they  
Become who in their selves perceive the Lord.

विश्वकर्मा—creator of the Universe. Isvara, it has already been said, creates the worlds with the aid of *Maya*.

महात्मा—महांश्वासौ आत्माच—the great Soul, because He pervades all.  
For the rest compare *Katha*, II. 3-9.

18. When knowledge comes and darkness vanishes quite  
Then there is neither day nor night nor being  
Nor non-being ; the blessed Lord alone  
Remains ; imperishable He is, adored  
By Savita and even from Him doth flow  
The perennial stream of ancient wisdom pure.

All notions of duality disappear when *avidya* is dispelled by the true knowledge of Brahman. Day and night, being and not-being and all such empirical ideas and antinomies give place to the one unspeakable Brahman with the realization of our oneness with Him. Since the immutability of the Absolute is unshaken in all the three states—past, present and future, alike in *pralaya* and *mukti*, the cognizance of duality in the waking and dream states must be considered illusory.

अतमः—darkness : light of knowledge.

न दिवा—दिनकल्पनाऽपि नास्ति—the day-appearance ceases ; so also of night, of being and of not-being.

What then remains ? The Blessed Lord alone.

तत्—Isvara denoted by 'that' in the scriptural text 'That Thou art'—तत्त्वमसि.

अक्षरं—imperishable, eternal.

तत्सवितुर्वरेण्यं—i. Savita is the presiding deity in the sun ; वरेण्यं—adored or praised ; hence the phrase means, adored by Savita ; or

सवितुः—ii. सर्वस्य प्रसवितुः, वरेण्यं—उपासकैर्वरेणीयं (रूपं)—the great Creator whose adorable form is meditated upon by the devotees ; or

iii. 'He is the syllable *OM*, Savitar's beloved light.'—*Deussen*.

The latter part of the Mantra has to be construed thus:—

तस्माच्च पुराणी प्रज्ञा प्रसृता—from Him alone the ancient wisdom has proceeded.

19. And none can find the Lord above, below  
Athwart, and nought there is that may with Him  
Compare whose blessed name is Glory Great.

Because Brahman suffers no change and is entire, there is no question of finding Him within space-limits and because He is the sole entity, there is no question of finding an equal to Him.

न परिजग्रभत्—none is able to come across Him (in any direction). जग्रभत्—this is a Vedic form and the root is ग्रभ्—a variant of ग्रह्-ग्रह, उपादाने.

प्रतिमा-उपमा—anything similar.

यस्य नाम महद्यशः—whose name is mighty glory, or the phrase may mean—whose great glory is so renowned (नाम-प्रसिद्धं).

The gist of the Mantra is that God's glory overflows space and time.

20. Within the range of human sight dwells not  
The image of the Lord and none hath seen  
This Being with mortal eye ; immortal they  
Perceiving Him enshrined within their hearts  
With intellect schooled and purged of all its dross.

What is implied here is the super-sensibility of Isvara and the saving knowledge that one's self is identical with Isvara.

संदर्शे—संदर्शनविषये ; संदर्शन योग्यदेशे.

न संदर्शे . . . —His image is not to be found where the eye and other sense-organs can act, i.e., Isvara cannot be the object of sense-perception ; Cp. “यच्चक्षुषा न पश्यति येन चक्षुषि पश्यति.”

मनसा—संस्कृताहंकारजन्यबुद्ध्या—with one's mind disciplined and purified.

अमृता भवन्ति—attain the state of immortality ; मरणहेतुभूत देहसंबंधं पुनर्नप्रतिपद्यन्ते—will cease to be associated with corporeality which is the cause of death.

21. Because, O Lord, Thou art from birth exempt  
Thou art sought by him who dreads the ills of life ;  
O Rudra with that which is Thy benignant face  
Me e'er safeguard who am Thy suppliant.

अजातः—free from birth, death, desire for food, thirst, sorrow, and passion ; or free from the six changes in the body (षड्भावविकार), viz., birth, growth, decay, disease, old age and death.

कश्चित् भीरुः—one who is afraid of the recurring cycle of *Samsara*.

प्रपद्यते—seeks refuge in God ; ‘प्रपद्ये’ is another reading in which case “कश्चित् भीरुः” must be taken with अहं, meaning ‘I who am in dread of *Samsara*.’

रुद्र—need not be taken as a name of Siva. It is variously interpreted:—

- अविद्याविनाशक—he who dispels the darkness of ignorance.
- रुजं—संसारदुःखं द्रावयति, इति रुद्रः—because he puts to rout the sorrows of life.
- संहारकाले सर्वं रोदयतीति—he who causes universal lamentation at the time of world-destruction.

दक्षिणं मुखं—lit. one whose face is turned towards the south ; Siva is named दक्षिणामूर्ति. Being the universal destroyer Siva is facing the south which is the direction of Yama, the Lord of death.

- उत्साह जननं, ध्यातं सत् आह्लादकरं—of benignant aspect.
- उपदेशकुशलं—skilled in teaching.
- दक्षं मुमुक्षुणां—mighty help to the seekers.



22. Let not Thy wrath, O Lord, befall our sons  
 And grandsons too, nor let Thy wrath curtail  
 Our lives nor strike our cattle and horses dead ;  
 O Rudra, in Thy unappeasable wrath  
 Kill not our valiant men and true ; invoked  
 Thou shalt always be with plenteous gifts.

One of the commentators Sankarananda remarks that, having prescribed the path of liberation to the Sanyasin, the *Sruti* now enjoins on the householder the duty of seeking divine grace for his spiritual welfare. But it is doubtful whether such distinction is meant here. Though knowledge is the ultimate means of self-realization, prayer and worship as aids to obtain divine grace are essential for all and the Svetasvatara more pointedly than other Upanishads brings home this aspect of the scriptural teaching.

तौके and तनये—mean respectively sons and grandsons.

गोषु—in cattle ; अश्वेषु—in horses.

मारीरिषः—हिंसां माकार्षीः—do not harm or destroy.

वीरान्—विक्रमवतः परिचारकान्—valiant servants.

भामितः—क्रोधः—anger.

मावधीः—do not kill.

हविष्मन्तः—त्वदाराधन साधनवन्तो भूत्वा—equipped with all the accessories for thy worship.

सदं—सदा—always; Vedic form.

इत्—इत्थं—thus or it may be taken as an expletive.

त्वा—त्वामुद्दिश्य—to thee, for thy acceptance.

हवामहे—रक्षणार्थं आह्वयामः—we implore thee for protection.

# THE MALAYARAYANS OF TRAVANCORE.

BY L. A. KRISHNA IYER, ESQ., M.A., M.R.A.S.

(Continued from Vol. XIX, No. 2.)

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## CHAPTER IV.

### Religion.

WESTERMARCK defines religion as a belief in, and a regardful attitude towards, a supernatural being on whom man\* feels dependent and to whose will he makes an appeal in his worship. The religion of the Malayarayan may be described as a system of animism or spiritism, and his attitude to the supernatural is one of reverential fear in the presence of certain supernatural powers and beings.

While he has not systematized his notions of the supernatural, he makes out some distinction between the souls of the dead and deities of a more or less definite nature, ranging from deities with functions and individual names to vague spirits of the jungle, stone, and stream.

#### (i) *Ancestor-worship.*

Ancestor worship is one of the great branches of the religion of mankind. In India, it comes to the surface in all directions, and its principles keep up the social relations of the living world. According to Sir E. B. Tylor, the dead ancestor now passed as deity goes on protecting his family and receiving suit from them as of old. Ancestors are therefore considered as kindly patron spirits at least to their own kinsfolk or worshippers.

Among the Malayarayans of Travancore, wide and deep traces appear of a surviving cultus of ancestors. In the mountains inhabited by them are many tumuli or vaults called *pandukuri*. The latter stand north and south with a circular opening to the south. A round stone is fitted to this aperture with another acting as a lever to prevent its falling out. The sides as also the stones at the top and bottom are single slabs. To this day, the Arayans make similar little cells, the whole forming a box a few inches square; and on the death of a member of the family, the spirit is supposed to pass, as the body is being buried, into a brass or similar image which is shut in the vault. A few offerings of milk, rice, toddy and ghee are made, a torch is lighted and extinguished, the figure is placed inside the cell, and the covering stone hastily placed on. All then leave. On the anniversary day, similar offerings are

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\* Westermarck, *The Origin and Development of Moral Ideas*, Vol. II.

made. The stone is lifted off and hastily closed. The spirit is supposed to be enclosed. None venture to touch the cell at any other time!

The Malayarayan of the present day does not erect dolmens over the dead. Ancestor-worship is now confined to persons who are killed by a tiger or who meet with an unnatural death, as their spirits are considered to influence the welfare of the living in a mysterious manner.

A metallic effigy\* continues to be made of the dead. A small box of stone is made of verticals and a capstone open in front on ceremonial days. It is erected on elevated ground, and the metallic image is placed inside it. It is worshipped on Sankramanam days in Karthika (Vrischigam) and Chithirai (Medam) annually. The effigy is washed, touched with sandal paste, and tulsi leaves placed over its head. It is then placed inside the stone box. Offerings of raw rice, toddy and milk are made. Some drops of toddy are then sprinkled all round. A cocoanut is then broken, and fowl sacrificed. The rice is cooked, and a small quantity is placed on a leaf at the foot of a pala or jack tree. All then clap hands, pray, and return after closing the opening with the stone lid.

It is plain in our own times that the dead still receive worship from far the larger half of mankind. Mr. Spencer and Grant think that the worship of the dead is the root of every religion. The spirits of the dead are worshipped, because they are capable of influencing the welfare of the living in a mysterious manner. This belief is the natural outcome of the conception of the human soul, although the beneficent nature is of later growth due to contact with other cultures.

#### (ii) *Minor Supernatural Powers.*

We deal here with a class of supernatural powers, most of whom are more or less impersonal in their nature and may prove propitious or harmless, if treated with suitable observances and rites. To this class belong an uncanny bit of jungle or an isolated awe-inspiring peak. The existence of an indwelling spirit appears to be dimly recognized and in others an immanent power or mysterious energy of the nature of *mana* is believed to be in there. The worship of this class of supernatural powers is said to stand on the borderland between religion and magic.

The Malayarayan worships five eminences, Thalaparamala, Azhamala, Puthiyamala, Pothemnala, and Savamparamala. These steep mountains are worshipped, because they are believed to have a special local spirit who acts as guardian. The natural object is worshipped, because it is believed to possess supernatural power, but it is nevertheless the object that is

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\* Rev. Mateer, *Native Life in Travancore*.

worshipped. In other words, they do not separate the spirit from the matter, but adore the thing in its totality as a divine being.

Five stones symbolising the five eminences are installed in a shed or outside, and are worshipped on Onam and Vishu days. Thalaparamala has the seat of honour in the shed. Azhamala is installed outside the shed at a respectable distance owing to their fraternal relationship. The shed is purified, and the stones are washed. Some raw rice, sandal paste and tulsi leaves are placed in a plantain leaf in front, while five cocoanuts are placed in another leaf. Fifty-one *archanas* are made for Thalapara, and fifty for the others. A fowl is sacrificed for the ancestor-spirits before them and the cocoanuts are broken. Then the Velichapad gets inspired and utters some prophetic words. Then he comes to his own. Coconut and beaten rice are distributed to all. Raw rice is cooked and a small quantity is placed on twenty-one leaves in honour of ancestor-spirits. Some water is sprinkled and prayers offered. A ball of rice is placed on a leaf in front of a jack tree. They offer prayers and return home.

We find a replica of this custom in all parts of the world. Among the American tribes, Mr. Dorman points out that any remarkable features in natural scenery or dangerous places become objects of superstitious dread and veneration, because they are supposed to be the abode of gods. A high mountain or an isolated peak was looked upon with superstitious respect and propitiated with offerings. The Ainu of Japan deify all objects and phenomena which seem to be extraordinary or dreadful. The average middle-class Hindu worships stocks or stones which are unusual or grotesque.

### (iii) *The Worship of Sasta.*

Sasta is a sylvan deity of hoary antiquity, and his worship constitutes an important feature of the religion of the Malayarayan. According to *Keralotpathi*, Parasurama it was who is said to have established the temples dedicated to Sasta on the ghauts to guard the newly erected country. The worship of Sasta at Sabarimala betrays many features of animistic beliefs from start to finish. He receives suit from his votaries annually. The annual festival falls about the 13th of January and continues for five days. It attracts a large concourse of votaries of all classes of people and is celebrated with great *éclat*.

*Discipline*—Sasta is very frigid in his tastes and expects a high standard of purity in his votaries. A man can qualify himself as a votary by being under a vow for forty-one days from sixteenth of November. He bathes twice a day, leads a clean life. He should avoid meat and sexual intercourse. Formerly, the Malayarayan used to eat meat and carry dried meat in his

*Kettu*. He has now given it up. He drinks toddy. Only girls and old women go for worship. Any woman who goes and attains menses loses caste and becomes the property of an Ulladan, Thottakatti Kochuvelan. The avoidance of flesh is dictated by the elimination of undesirable qualities with which a person believes them to be infected. Health, wealth and life are to be gained by a rigid observance of the vow, and a person who breaks it jeopardises the result that is being striven for. The net result of this disciplinary life is seen in an accession of strength and grit to the votaries who are enabled to bear the tedium of the journey to Sabarimala with greater ease.

They go in batches led by the most senior man, Periaswamy. All votaries are called Ayyappans or Swamies, and the head of the fraternity is called Periaswamy, whose word is law. Any exchange of abusive language is visited with fine or calling Saranams a certain number of times. Their fraternal greetings are worthy of emulation.

The Ayyappan does not stand in terms of indebtedness to others during his march to the hills. He is self-contained and there is a ceremony called *Kettumurukku* or tying up the load. The *Kettu* consists of a bag of three pockets. The front pocket is loaded with gifts to Sasta (raw rice, ganja, cocoanut, camphor and cash), while the back pocket contains beaten rice, powdered rice, condiments, and some arrack. The mid-pocket contains dishes, spoons, and other things to complete his kit. With this *Kettu* over his head, the pilgrim wends his way to the hills in measured stages.

During the period of vow, they propitiate Sasta, Karuppuswami, Kochu-Kadutha, Ganapathi, and crests of hills with "Vellamkudi". The day before they march to Sabarimala, all the *Kettu* are kept together. A huge fire is lit at a distance, and the votaries go round, when one gets inspired. While possession lasts, his own personality lies in abeyance, the presence of the spirit is revealed by convulsive shiverings and shakings of the whole body. All his utterances are considered as the voice of God or spirit dwelling in him and speaking through him. It is only in case the inspired Ayyappan passes through fire, his utterances are accepted at their face value. Otherwise they do not care for him.

The Malayarayans take part in Pettathullal, which is an interesting ceremony at Erumeli on the twenty-seventh of Dhanu, (tenth of January) where the Ayyappans congregate for the day. It is commemorative of Sasta's hunting expedition at Erumeli and return with spoils of the chase after killing Mahishasura. The Ayyappans blacken their faces and bodies, and carry some vegetables in a blanket. Suspending the loads on their shoulders, they run towards Petta Sasta's temple, where they worship Sasta. They then worship Vavar. The blackening of the face is emblematic of the original

inhabitants of the forests, the forbears of the present-day hill-tribes, who followed Sasta.

The votaries reach Peruthode, where they offer fried rice and molasses to the crags on the bed of the stream. They are supposed to be the resting place of Sasta and his followers. They then reach Kalakathi where coconuts are thrown in honour of Sasta. These are shared by the Malayarayangans. They camp for the night on the bed of the Azhutha river. The river is here worshipped as a deity, which fills their imagination and receives their homage. They then reach Kallidamkunnu on the twenty-ninth of Dhanu (twelfth of January), where the Kanni Ayyappans, who are armed with pebbles, throw them on the crest of the hill. This is intended to press down the personality of an Asura who haunts there, so that he may not come out and harm them. Unless the Kanni Ayyappans throw a pebble and a green leaf on it, the Asura will move out. It is also thought that they expect success in their errand or freedom from obstacles by offering stones or leaves at the spot. Throwing another coconut at Karimala, they reach the banks of the Pamba in the evening.

The *Pamba-vilakku* (illumination) forms one of the most enchanting scenes on the twenty-ninth of Dhanu (twelfth of January) night. It is said to be in honour of Sasta, who is said to be cooking his food and dining among the Ayyappans for the night in disguise and resting there for the night on his way from Erumeli to Sabarimala.

The next morning, they march to Sabarimala after a feast. They break a coconut on reaching Pathinettampadi, and worship the deity. They make offerings to Kochukadutha and Karuppuswami. At night is the *Makara-vilakku*, when there is a procession from the shrine of Malikapurathamma to Ayyappan's accompanied by illuminations. Next morning, they bathe in Orakuzhi thirtham and enjoy a feast. They then return home.

God Sasta blesses those who are childless. He averts evils. His boons on his votaries are phenomenal, and they enlarge the circle of his votaries.

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# STUDIES IN VIJAYANAGARA HISTORY.

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## IV. THE EXPLOITS OF KAMPILA AND KUMARA RAMANATHA.

(Continued from the last issue.)

[The summary given below is, except for the first few lines, mostly gathered from the Madras manuscript of Nanjunda's *Paradāra-Sōdara-Rāmana-Kathe*, marked 18-22-9 in the Catalogue of the Oriental Manuscripts' Library. It contains nine and a half additional *sandhis* bringing the total number of verses to 5630.\* With this the work is completed.]

### Nemi's Second Attack on Kummata.

IN a few days, the news of the death of Rāmanātha having reached Dīlī, the Suritāla ordered Nēmi Malluka to proceed against Karnāta and destroy Kummaṭa.<sup>1</sup> Nēmi, in his turn, promised to bring Kampila Dēva captive.<sup>2</sup> Accordingly, he started from Dīlī, with 3,90,000 horse.<sup>3</sup> Leaving behind Mālava, Magadha, Nēpāla, Gurjara and Pāñchāla countries, he came and encamped at Bidire.<sup>4</sup> While here, his army was reinforced by the kings of Aṅga, Bangāla, Koṅkaṇa, Kaushala, Kuru, Jhaṅgaṇa, Hūna, Hammīra, Vaṅga, Barbara, Kannoji and Kharpara.<sup>5</sup>

Coming to know of this through his frontier guards, Kampila expressed himself to Baichappa that there was none in Kummaṭa who could fight (with the Delhi general) as Rāmanātha was dead.<sup>6</sup> So, he told Baichappa to fortify Hosamale and arm Kummaṭa immediately. Further, he urged him to proceed to Kummaṭa first, and stated that he would follow him soon. In obedience to his command, Baichappa marched with his army to Kummaṭa<sup>7</sup> and there began stocking large quantities of burning sand, boiling gruel and scorching limestones.<sup>8</sup> Soon, Kampila got the news from his ministers that Nēmi had crossed the *Heddore*.<sup>9</sup> At this, he started for Kummaṭa Durga.<sup>10</sup> Then, reflecting over the plight in which they were then placed, he began to scold Baichappa. But Aṇṇa Bhairava Dēva cheered him with encouraging words. To this everyone including Bādura Khāna gave his support. Kampila praised the Khān and gave him armour, soldiers and

\* There is much difference between the numbering of cantos and verses in the Mysore and Madras manuscripts, leading to a good deal of confusion. Students of history who may be particular about references are requested to compare both the manuscripts.

<sup>1</sup> P. X, C. I, v. 36 and 37.

<sup>2</sup> P. X, C. I, v. 39.

<sup>3</sup> P. X, C. I, v. 41.

<sup>4</sup> P. X, C. I, v. 43.

<sup>5</sup> P. X, C. I, v. 57.

<sup>6</sup> P. X, C. I, v. 45.

<sup>7</sup> P. X, C. I, v. 49.

<sup>8</sup> P. X, C. I, v. 52-55.

<sup>9</sup> P. X, C. I, v. 62.

<sup>10</sup> P. X, C. I, v. 65.

horses. Baichappa also encouraged the king by telling him that he had a new warrior in view, with whose help he would be able to destroy Nêmi's army. So saying, he gave the history of the new warrior which closely resembled Râmanâtha's story. Then, he promised to bring him out three days after the siege of the fort by Nêmi.

Six months after,<sup>1</sup> Nêmi crossed the frontiers and encamped close to the hillfort. At this Kampila ordered Baichappa to proceed against him. Accordingly, the minister equipped an army for service under Anṇa Bhairava, Aḷiya Mallarasa and Vîra Bâdura. This done, he sent for the horses of the heroes who had died (?) with Râmanâtha; and after collecting them together, he distributed them among the ablest of the soldiers then present. He also presented their honours, titles and other emblems of rank among these men.<sup>2</sup>

Surprised at this, Kampila questioned<sup>3</sup> Baichappa as to why he had sent for Râmanâtha's horse, which would not allow anybody else to mount it. To this, the minister replied, that it was intended for a new cavalier, whose services he had secured, after having heard a good deal of his horsemanship.<sup>4</sup> Through him, he said, he proposed winning the battle.<sup>5</sup>

Night setting in, Nêmi issued orders to his subordinates to keep watch on their camp. Accordingly, 20,000 men mounted guard and kept going round.<sup>6</sup> Kampila too went round the ramparts of the fort of Kummata and felt himself very much pleased with the arrangements that had been made.<sup>7</sup> The blazing torches in the two camps<sup>8</sup> indicated that both parties were on the alert and the continuous play of music of various kinds<sup>9</sup> gave the impression that they took things very light-heartedly.

With all this, Nêmi's men suffered from an unexpected attack. Under Baichappa's instructions, bands of the most daring among his men succeeded in piercing the enemy's lines,<sup>10</sup> killing some, wounding many and throwing all into confusion.<sup>11</sup> After this, they returned to the fort and presented Kampila with a number of enemy heads<sup>12</sup> together with many of their weapons, tents and other camp equipment.<sup>13</sup> Pleased with this achievement of his men, Kampila presented them with becoming rewards and sent them home.<sup>14</sup>

<sup>1</sup> P. X, C. II, v. 54; note the time that elapsed between Nêmi's concentration of troops at Bidure and his actual attack on Kummata.

<sup>2</sup> Here the Mysore manuscript stops.

<sup>3</sup> Nanjunda (Madras MSS.) C. 37, v. 76.

<sup>4</sup> C. 37, v. 78.

<sup>5</sup> C. 37, v. 80.

<sup>6</sup> C. 37, v. 82.

<sup>7</sup> C. 37, v. 83,

<sup>8</sup> C. 37, v. 82.

<sup>9</sup> C. 37, v. 81.

<sup>10</sup> C. 37, v. 94-102.

<sup>11</sup> C. 37, v. 103-124.

<sup>12</sup> C. 37, v. 126.

<sup>13</sup> C. 37, v. 127.

<sup>14</sup> C. 37, v. 128.



At the break of morning<sup>1</sup> Nêmi's and Kampila's soldiers bestirred themselves for the approaching battle.<sup>2</sup> Collecting the detachments of Bhairava Dêva, Bâdura Khâna and other chiefs, Baichappa placed them in all important positions on the fort<sup>3</sup> and its surroundings. The archers and other footmen took their position behind stones, rocks, boulders and hillocks.<sup>4</sup> So did the lancers take cover wherever they could.<sup>5</sup> Likewise the rocketmen (ಪೆಟಲವರು) on the fortwalls prepared themselves to defend Kummaṭa.<sup>6</sup> In spite of all this arrangement, Nêmi was not impressed in any way. He coolly told his Khâns that as Râmanâtha was dead, it was an easy matter to capture that fort.<sup>7</sup> Thus encouraged, his soldiers commenced their attack soon.<sup>8</sup> At this, the defenders pounced upon the advance guard causing much injury to it.<sup>9</sup> Unmindful of this, before long, his forces succeeded in surrounding Kummaṭa on three sides (ಮೂವ್ವಳಸಾಗಿ);<sup>10</sup> some of them making use of ladders,<sup>11</sup> got on to the top of the outer walls. There they were met with determined opposition by the garrison.<sup>12</sup> A severe struggle following, once it was even feared that the fort would fall into the hands of the enemy. At this stage, King Kampila came on the scene.<sup>13</sup> Just then his bodyguards, making a spirited charge, succeeded in driving away the besiegers, after killing and wounding a good many of them.<sup>14</sup> By evening the attack was called off and the enemy returned disappointed to their camps.<sup>15</sup>

After Kampila's return to his audience hall, he asked his minister if his chosen cavalier had arrived.<sup>16</sup> To this he replied that he was in his (the minister's) mansion.<sup>17</sup> When Kampila expressed a desire to see him, Baichappa excused himself by saying that the cavalier was unwilling to appear before the king until he had faced Nêmi in open battle and driven him away.<sup>18</sup> Highly pleased at these words, Kampila sent that cavalier dresses of honour and other presents, after which he retired.<sup>19</sup> Then the minister sent (? from Hosamale) for Râmanâtha, who, hurrying to Kummaṭa, readily joined him.<sup>20</sup>

Next morning,<sup>21</sup> the minister called for the horses in the garrison. These being brought, he supplied the followers of Kâṭaṇṇa and other chiefs with some of them.<sup>22</sup> On his presenting Râmanâtha with his favourite steed, the

<sup>1</sup> C. 38, v. 1.

<sup>2</sup> C. 38, v. 3 and 4.

<sup>3</sup> C. 38, v. 5, 6.

<sup>4</sup> C. 38, v. 8.

<sup>5</sup> C. 38, v. 7.

<sup>6</sup> C. 38, v. 9.

<sup>7</sup> C. 38, v. 10, 11.

<sup>8</sup> C. 38, v. 12.

<sup>9</sup> C. 38, v. 13.

<sup>10</sup> C. 38, v. 15.

<sup>11</sup> C. 38, v. 18.

<sup>12</sup> C. 38, v. 16.

<sup>13</sup> C. 38, v. 22.

<sup>14</sup> C. 38, v. 23, 24.

<sup>15</sup> C. 38, v. 29.

<sup>16</sup> C. 38, v. 18.

<sup>17</sup> C. 38, v. 16.

<sup>18</sup> C. 38, v. 36-38.

<sup>19</sup> C. 38, v. 39.

<sup>20</sup> C. 38, v. 54.

<sup>21</sup> C. 38, v. 57.

<sup>22</sup> C. 38, v. 64.

latter pleased himself by decorating it in the most elaborate fashion.<sup>1</sup> After this, Baichappa was directed by the prince to proceed with the king's forces in advance and post the cavalry at Gangemâḷa (?) and other places of strategic importance.<sup>2</sup> Thus ordered, the minister left for the open ground outside, while Râmanâtha, accompanied by Kâṭaṇṇa and Bhâva Sangama Dêva entered the fort.<sup>3</sup>

Nêmi, on his part, was not slow to take up the challenge. He too got ready his forces and marched on Kummata,<sup>4</sup> close to which Kampila's army stood in battle array.<sup>5</sup> Râmanâtha also arriving on the scene, some among the enemy who knew him by outward signs recognized who the unknown warrior was.<sup>6</sup> This news spreading among the soldiers of Nêmi, they got frightened and began to disperse. Some of the Khâns also lost heart at his unexpected presence;<sup>7</sup> at this Nêmi revived their spirits with his encouraging words. Then, rallying them once again, he arranged on one flank 100,000 horses and on the other the war elephants; the infantry, among whom the Turkish archers were very conspicuous, were placed in front.<sup>8</sup> Battle beginning, Râmanâtha plunged himself with whirlwind rapidity into the midst of the enemy forces and without pity or remorse hacked to pieces all who dared to oppose him.<sup>9</sup> Thrown into confusion, their archers fell back upon the lancers and the lancers pushed aside the shieldmen. Nor was this all. Horsemen fell on horsemen and elephants on elephants. At this, the enemy at first ran hither and thither.<sup>10</sup> Then, getting frightened, they broke and fled in all directions.<sup>11</sup> Thus overpowered, Nêmi Malluka was compelled to retire with his bodyguards.<sup>12</sup> Taking advantage of this situation, Kampila's soldiers chased their foes, wreaking vengeance on them, as they chose.<sup>13</sup> With the dead and dying lying in all forms of mutilation and with a variety of weapons scattered in wild disorder, the battlefield presented a spectacle at once moving and appalling.<sup>14</sup> King Kampa, who was watching the progress of the battle, was profuse in his praises of the unknown warrior.<sup>15</sup> He told Baichappa to fetch the new warrior that he might know him personally.<sup>16</sup> To this, the minister replied that he was none else than Kampila's own son Râmanâtha, who was not dead but had been concealed by him, all the while, in a mysterious way.<sup>17</sup> At these words, Kampila was visibly moved with uncontrollable joy. Thereupon, sending the king to the palace, Baichappa proceeded with the chiefs and nobles to meet Râmanâtha, who was yet on

<sup>1</sup> C. 38, v. 58-63.

<sup>2</sup> C. 38, v. 66, 67.

<sup>3</sup> C. 38, v. 80.

<sup>4</sup> C. 39, v. 2, 3.

<sup>5</sup> C. 39, v. 6.

<sup>6</sup> C. 39, v. 14-16.

<sup>7</sup> C. 39, v. 18.

<sup>8</sup> C. 39, v. 20, 21.

<sup>9</sup> C. 39, v. 25-27.

<sup>10</sup> C. 39, v. 31-33.

<sup>11</sup> C. 39, v. 28-30.

<sup>12</sup> C. 39, v. 33.

<sup>13</sup> C. 39, v. 34.

<sup>14</sup> C. 39, v. 40-43.

<sup>15</sup> C. 39, v. 44.

<sup>16</sup> C. 39, v. 48.

<sup>17</sup> C. 39, v. 49.

the battlefield.<sup>1</sup> Then accompanied by him, the minister entered the court hall where he presented the prince to his father.<sup>2</sup> At his son's approach, the king, overcome by emotions, petted, fondled and embraced him in a hundred ways.<sup>3</sup> After this, when matters had settled down at Kummata, Kampila accompanied by his son, entered Hosamale Durga.<sup>4</sup> On Râmanâtha's arrival at the palace, the overjoyed mother, Harihara Dêvi, hurried to welcome him with all expressions of joy.<sup>5</sup> The capital town, with all classes of its people, shared this joy with the parents. Thus Râmanâtha was re-joined to his family and relations.<sup>6</sup> His step-mother Ratnâji alone was dissatisfied with his return. Fearing the consequences of her guilt, she committed suicide, after having given up all hopes of life.<sup>7</sup> At this, overcome by grief, poor Kampila wept bitterly, as he related the incident to his daughters Mâramma and Singamma.<sup>8</sup> Then consoling himself, he arranged for the cremation of her body.<sup>9</sup> When Râmanâtha came to know of this, he too felt much for his father as he knew his (Kampila's) happiness was at an end.<sup>10</sup>

#### Matangi's Invasion of Kummata.

The news of the defeat of Nêmi was carried even to the *zenana* (at Delhi).<sup>11</sup> Much enraged at this humiliation, the Suritâla came to the audience hall accompanied by his ladies and enquired of those couriers who had come, the detailed account.<sup>12</sup> Whereupon, they told him that the best Khâns were dead, Nêmi Malluka was beaten, the army was scattered and many chiefs were taken captive.<sup>13</sup> Besides, they continued, countless horses had fallen dead or wounded and a good number had been secured by the enemy together with transport waggons, granary and treasure.<sup>14</sup> At this, addressing the audience, the Sultan blamed Nêmi Malluka for having twice suffered defeat at the hands of a *boy*; and said that he was surprised to hear of Nêmi's returning without a wound on his body, while so many chiefs and Khâns died in battle.<sup>15</sup>

Just about this time, Nêmi Malluka entered Dillî with his Khâns, and with great fear made his appearance before the Suritâla.<sup>16</sup> But the latter neither talked to him nor looked at him; on the other hand, his mind was concentrated on finding a leader who could capture and bring Râmanâtha.<sup>17</sup> Such was the tension then that none in the audience dared to talk with one so angry.<sup>18</sup> At this moment a woman by name Mâtangi broke the silence by offering her services. She was born in the Mâtanga caste; and thus

1 C. 39, v. 53.

2 C. 39, v. 54.

3 C. 39, v. 55-59.

4 C. 39, v. 60.

5 C. 39, v. 61, 62.

6 C. 39, v. 87, 88.

7 C. 39, v. 91-93.

8 C. 39, v. 94, 109.

9 C. 39, v. 108.

10 C. 39, v. 111, 112.

11 C. 40, v. 1.

12 C. 40, v. 2, 3.

13 C. 40, v. 4.

14 C. 40, v. 5 and 6.

15 C. 40, v. 12-15.

16 C. 40, v. 18.

17 C. 40, v. 20.

18 C. 40, v. 21, 22.

being known by that name was the door-keeper of the Sultan.<sup>1</sup> She submitted to her lord that if she were permitted, she would destroy Kummaṭa and Hosamale, humble Kampila and bring Râmanâtha.<sup>2</sup> She pressed her offer on him, assuring him not to belittle her words, under the impression that she would share the same fate as that of the former leaders.<sup>3</sup> The Suritâla was very much pleased with her words and being convinced of her ability, appointed her as the commander-in-chief.<sup>4</sup> Then, after presenting her with all sorts of jewels, together with his famous flagstaff called "the ornament of the three worlds," sent her with his army, well equipped with tents, waggons and provisions and officered by the Khâns, Vazirs and Mallukas.<sup>5</sup> Nor was this all. Cartloads of *ganja*, toddy and arrack together with thousands of women in *palanquins* were also added to her supplies.<sup>6</sup> Thus, with an army amounting to 1,000 elephants, 6,000 camels, 1,000,000 horses and 10,000,000 foot,<sup>7</sup> she proceeded against Râmanâtha by way of Gôvardanâdri, Nêpâla and other countries, seeing various *nagaras* (cities), *puras* (towns), *kheḍas* (villages) and *kharvaḍas* (?).<sup>8</sup> In the course of her march, she encamped in the open space at *Nallûru*, then on the extensive plain of Kaḍaba<sup>9</sup> and after that at Kallakote.<sup>10</sup> Leaving this last-mentioned place, she passed through such big cities like Dhâre, Ujjayini, Durâsimha (?) until at last she reached Karnâta,<sup>11</sup> and encamped at Bidire.<sup>12</sup> When the chiefs of Karnâta saw her,<sup>13</sup> many paid respects to her and were honoured with presents.<sup>14</sup>

At the news of her encampment at Madhure,<sup>15</sup> various chiefs of the frontier sent word about it<sup>16</sup> to Râmanâtha. On hearing this, he communicated the same to Kampila, who in turn told it to his minister Baichappa.<sup>17</sup> After reflection, the minister gave his opinion, that Râmanâtha's remaining at Kummaṭa was of no use, the better plan being to fight the enemy at Hosadurga.<sup>18</sup> Kampila agreed with him, and asked him to try all possible means to induce Râmanâtha to return to his father.<sup>19</sup> Accordingly, the minister told the prince, that if he retired to Hosadurga success was surer there<sup>20</sup> as it was a bigger fort. At these words of advice Râmanâtha did not get angry, but laughed and said that Kummaṭa was the safest part of Hosamale;<sup>21</sup> if

<sup>1</sup> C. 38, v. 47.<sup>3</sup> C. 40, v. 26.<sup>5</sup> C. 40, v. 34-43.<sup>2</sup> C. 40, v. 23-25.<sup>4</sup> C. 40, v. 33.<sup>6</sup> C. 40, v. 51-58.<sup>7</sup> This number is calculated from the military classification given in verses 62 and 63 of C. 40.<sup>8</sup> C. 40, v. 64, 75, 79.<sup>9</sup> C. 40, v. 84; this may be Kadabagaon, about 15 miles south-east of Sholapur.<sup>10</sup> C. 40, v. 86.<sup>11</sup> C. 40, v. 87.<sup>12</sup> C. 40, v. 88.<sup>13</sup> C. 40, v. 89-94.<sup>14</sup> C. 40, v. 96.<sup>15</sup> Should be correctly Bidure; see verse 88 of canto 40 and verse 41 of canto 41.<sup>16</sup> C. 41, v. 1.<sup>18</sup> C. 41, v. 5.<sup>20</sup> C. 41, v. 12.<sup>17</sup> C. 41, v. 2.<sup>19</sup> C. 41, v. 9.<sup>21</sup> C. 41, v. 14.

that were lost it would never be possible to fight at Hosamale.<sup>1</sup> Besides, he said, that by such a change of tactics they would be considered as having been scared away by a woman,<sup>2</sup> and thus become the laughing stock of the world. Further, he added, as military glory meant more to him than lands, vehicles or women, he would not see his honour tarnished.<sup>3</sup> Thus, he took leave of the minister bidding him to tell the Râya that he would see him only after fighting at Kummaṭa and driving Mâtangi away from that place.<sup>4</sup> Till then, he concluded, it was better that neither his father nor his mother Hariamma should worry themselves about him.<sup>5</sup> Instead, he would request the king to send him a supply of 200,000 *honnu* to be paid as salary to his soldiers.<sup>6</sup> Accordingly, the minister returned to Râmanâtha's parents and told them all that he was instructed to communicate.<sup>7</sup> They both felt extremely sorry when they heard of their son's decision; but on second thought, Kampila took courage and sent sixty pots full of coins together with stamped gold.<sup>8</sup> After receiving this, Râmanâtha put the fort (of Kummaṭa) on its defence by getting ready large quantities of burning sand, hot gruel, oil and *chunam*.<sup>9</sup>

Meanwhile Mâtangi got her army ready and accompanied by the Khâns, Vazirs and Mallukas started on her elephant from Bidure<sup>10</sup> towards Kummaṭa. Among those that followed her were kings of various countries, Khôrâsânis, Kannôjis,<sup>11</sup> Turuka Bachcheyas (?Bâchâs or Pâshâs), Turuka Râvutas (Turkish Cavalry) and Khalubirudina (?) bodyguards.<sup>12</sup> Her total strength amounted to 12,000 elephants, 6,000 camels (Karabha), 1,000,000 horses and 10,000,000 foot<sup>13</sup> to which was added one to two lakhs bandsmen. Thus, after a march of 8 days<sup>14</sup> she reached her destination, where she encamped. Soon after, myriads of tents were pitched and shops to the number of 200,000 were opened<sup>15</sup> for selling wheat, bread, sugar, ghee and other foodstuffs<sup>16</sup> to the soldiery. When this was over, important Khâns were placed in charge of seven sides of that fort, Mâtangi taking the eighth, namely, the eastern.<sup>17</sup>

On his side, Râmanâtha was equally active. After stationing bands of men under cover of the hills, he sent Kâṭaṇṇa<sup>18</sup> with 2,000 horses and 30,000

<sup>1</sup> C. 41, v. 15.

<sup>2</sup> C. 41, v. 16.

<sup>3</sup> C. 41, v. 25.

<sup>4</sup> C. 41, v. 21.

<sup>5</sup> C. 41, v. 28.

<sup>6</sup> C. 41, v. 22.

<sup>7</sup> C. 41, v. 29.

<sup>8</sup> C. 41, v. 33.

<sup>9</sup> C. 41, v. 37.

<sup>10</sup> The Bidar of to-day, about 70 miles north-west of Hyderabad.

<sup>11</sup> C. 43, v. 102.

<sup>12</sup> C. 43, v. 103.

<sup>13</sup> C. 41, v. 49.

<sup>14</sup> C. 41, v. 41.

<sup>15</sup> C. 41, v. 59.

<sup>16</sup> C. 41, v. 60.

<sup>17</sup> C. 41, v. 52.

<sup>18</sup> C. 41, v. 65.

warriors<sup>1</sup> to deliver his first attack on Mâtangi's troops. Marching according to his instructions, Kâṭa took the enemy by surprise, thus destroying many.<sup>2</sup> Those who took to their heels were speared.<sup>3</sup> Many Khâns were also captured.<sup>4</sup> Besides, Kâṭa secured 1,000 horses as booty and presented them to Râmanâtha.<sup>5</sup> Out of them Râma presented his followers with 500, after sending 200 to his father at Hosadurga.<sup>6</sup>

At the news of these happenings, Kampila thought that the Mâdiga woman would certainly blockade Kummata and kill Râma. He, therefore, again sent word to Râma through Baichappa that he (Kampila) desired to see him once at least. Accordingly, Râma paid a short visit to his parents and sisters. At the time of their parting, Kampila gave his son 200,000 *honnu* and gold,<sup>7</sup> while Harihara Dêvi gave 100,000 *ponnu*.<sup>8</sup> These, on his return to the *durga*, Râma distributed among his warriors. Thus he got ready for battle.<sup>9</sup>

Mâtangi, on the other hand, held a *darbar* in her camp and rebuked the Vazirs for their unsuccessful effort in the previous battle.<sup>10</sup> To this, they promised to do better the next day.<sup>11</sup>

Accordingly, the next morning Mâtangi arranged her army in battle order and sent word to Râmanâtha<sup>12</sup> to submit to the Suritâla by handing over Bâdura and accepting the hand of his (the Sultan's) daughter.<sup>13</sup> Râmanâtha laughed at these proposals and prepared to give her battle with 3,000 chargers (ಪಾಟ), 30,000 horses (ತೇಜ) and some foot.<sup>14</sup> Thus, instructing Kâṭanna and other nobles to guard the fort, he went against the Turukas.<sup>15</sup> Coming in contact with their vanguard, Râmanâtha speared some and scattered the rest.<sup>16</sup> Seeing their brethren's blood run in torrents, the Khôrâsânîs and the Turuka Bachches (Pâchâs?) rushed upon him with great anger.<sup>17</sup> Unmoved by this, Râmanâtha carried on his slaughter as before. One lakh of the Suritâla's bodyguards rained arrows on him.<sup>18</sup> But these also met with destruction.<sup>19</sup>

Surprised at this, Mâtangi sent some Brahmins, the disciples of Vâdi Vidyânanda<sup>20</sup> of Maḷeyakheḍa<sup>21</sup> to Râmanâtha, offering peace<sup>22</sup> on the same old conditions.<sup>23</sup> After reminding him of his various conquests, they told Râmanâtha that a life so valuable as his, should not be thrown away without any

<sup>1</sup> C. 41, v. 66; C. 42, v. 14.

<sup>2</sup> C. 41, v. 67.

<sup>3</sup> C. 41, v. 70.

<sup>4</sup> C. 41, v. 74.

<sup>5</sup> C. 41, v. 77, 78.

<sup>6</sup> C. 41, v. 80.

<sup>19</sup> C. 42, v. 92.

<sup>20</sup> C. 43, v. 78; who could this Vidyânanda be?

<sup>21</sup> Mâlkheḍ, about 30 miles north-east of Wadi, Hyderabad State.

<sup>22</sup> C. 43, v. 11.

<sup>7</sup> C. 42, v. 7.

<sup>8</sup> C. 42, v. 10.

<sup>9</sup> C. 42, v. 12.

<sup>10</sup> C. 42, v. 13-19.

<sup>11</sup> C. 42, v. 20.

<sup>12</sup> C. 42, v. 44.

<sup>13</sup> C. 42, v. 48.

<sup>14</sup> C. 42, v. 57.

<sup>15</sup> C. 42, v. 67.

<sup>16</sup> C. 42, v. 72, 73, 75.

<sup>17</sup> C. 42, v. 84 and 90.

<sup>18</sup> C. 42, v. 91.

<sup>23</sup> C. 43, v. 20.

consideration. But all their persuasions were of no avail, as Râmanâtha, without yielding even a little, sent them away.<sup>1</sup>

After receiving the message of his refusal, Mâtangi decided her course of action. Despatching Madura Khâna with 1,000,000 foot and 200,000 horse to blockade Kummaṭa,<sup>2</sup> she decided to meet Râmanâtha in person. Thus determined, she got upon her elephant and followed by 30,000 foot and 3,000 horse led her attack on Râmanâtha.<sup>3</sup> At first Râmanâtha took those man-œuvres with surprising unconcern; but roused to action by his brother-in-law (sister's husband) Bhâva Sangama,<sup>4</sup> he soon sallied out and closed with his enemy. Battle beginning, various kings and chiefs with their men and horses<sup>5</sup> pressed against him from all sides. On one side Abbara Khâna<sup>6</sup> with his 10,000 horses, on another the Khôrâsânîs, on a third the Turuka Bachcheyas<sup>7</sup> rained their arrows on him. Their Turkish bows (ಸಂಕಾಶಿಬ್ಬ) were freely used.<sup>8</sup> Kadubuva Khâna killed.....<sup>9</sup> So did Râma slaughter many among them.<sup>10</sup> Then, making a desperate attempt, he clove the Diḷḷi forces into two.<sup>11</sup> At this singular heroism, even Mâtangi was struck with wonder.<sup>12</sup>

While this work of mutual slaughter went on in one part of the battle-field, the mission of Madhura Khâna who was besieging the fort (of Kummaṭa)<sup>13</sup> on all sides<sup>14</sup> was also getting accomplished. By the incessant efforts of his men, the stones from the footwalls were dislodged<sup>15</sup> and the ditches filled up. Shortly after, orders were issued to scale the battered walls.<sup>16</sup> The stout-hearted defenders of the fort did their best to stem the tide of the enemy by pouring down burning sand and boiling oil<sup>17</sup> on them; but all to no purpose. Such was the impetuous rush of the storming bands that none cared for what happened to the other even among themselves. The dead were left where they lay and the fallen were not attended to.<sup>18</sup> At this juncture, Kâṭaṇṇa saw that there was no hope for the fort.<sup>19</sup> So he started for the town<sup>20</sup> (below).

Meantime Madhura Khâna with the help of his (other) soldiers had besieged (the town below) and slain many among the defenders.<sup>21</sup> Dêvi

<sup>1</sup> C. 43, v. 20.

<sup>2</sup> C. 43, v. 94.

<sup>3</sup> C. 43, v. 85.

<sup>4</sup> C. 43, v. 85-92.

<sup>5</sup> C. 43, v. 110.

<sup>6</sup> C. 43, v. 108.

<sup>13</sup> Nanjunda seems to differentiate between Kummaṭa fort on the hill from Kummaṭa town at its foot.

<sup>14</sup> C. 44, v. 1.

<sup>15</sup> C. 44, v. 4.

<sup>16</sup> C. 44, v. 3.

<sup>17</sup> C. 44, v. 6.

<sup>7</sup> C. 43, v. 109.

<sup>8</sup> C. 43, v. 128.

<sup>9</sup> Here portions are damaged.

<sup>10</sup> C. 43, v. 121 and 150.

<sup>11</sup> C. 43, v. 158.

<sup>12</sup> C. 43, v. 161.

<sup>18</sup> C. 44, v. 5.

<sup>19</sup> C. 44, v. 9.

<sup>20</sup> C. 44, v. 10.

<sup>21</sup> C. 44, v. 10, 11.

Sattiya Linga, Balluka, Kolliya Nâga, Kolânciya Kampa, Gindiya Lakka,<sup>1</sup> Akkasâleya Chikka, Hakkaya Singanna<sup>2</sup> had all paid with their lives. So also had Holeyara Hullâ and Mâdigara Hampa, the bravest of the brave among Râmanâtha's veterans.<sup>3</sup> At last the Khâns broke open the gates of the fort (of the town below) and entered it as well. Thus the town also fell into the hands of the enemy.<sup>4</sup>

When the news of the capture of the town reached (Mâtangi) she felt greatly overjoyed and ordered the Khâns to march to the fort.<sup>5</sup> Seeing the town in flames, Râmanâtha lost heart<sup>6</sup> at last. At once he turned round and hurried towards the town.<sup>7</sup> He was met at the Tiger-gate by Kâṭaṇṇa<sup>8</sup> who helped him to get down from his horse.<sup>9</sup> Entering the palace,<sup>10</sup> Râmanâtha saw the royal ladies standing by the side of the fiery pit,<sup>11</sup> taking leave of their husbands and other male relations.<sup>12</sup> They were also taking leave of each other and the world with all religious formalities.<sup>13</sup> Proceeding further, he entered the Holy of Holies and there worshipped the God Shiva.<sup>14</sup> Coming out he addressed the ladies,<sup>15</sup> after which one by one they all leapt into the fire.<sup>16</sup> This being over, he collected all valuable dress, jewelry and other precious belongings and sent them in loads to where Kâṭaṇṇa and Bâdura Khâna were staying.<sup>17</sup> Rejoining Kâṭa and Bâdura,<sup>18</sup> he distributed these articles among those of his followers<sup>19</sup> who yet survived. Thus did he get ready for the final issue.<sup>20</sup>

Soon after, a fresh charge of the enemy was launched. At this, Râmanâtha's devoted followers scattered themselves pell-mell in all directions.<sup>21</sup> But with Kâṭa and Bâdura on both sides, Râmanâtha and Sangama Dêva stood their ground in the centre,<sup>22</sup> hurling defiance at each and everyone that came upon them.<sup>23</sup> Even the Khâns, who entered the town after its pillage, stood fixed on the ground in front of him, surprised at his courageous stand.<sup>24</sup> For a while Râmanâtha and his friends kept the enemy at bay.<sup>25</sup> But the Khâns again rallied and returned their shower of shots, arrows and missiles

<sup>1</sup> C. 44, v. 14.

<sup>2</sup> C. 44, v. 15.

<sup>3</sup> C. 44, v. 26; should be taken as the fort round Kummaṇa town.

<sup>4</sup> C. 44, v. 27.

<sup>5</sup> C. 44, v. 28.

<sup>6</sup> C. 44, v. 47.

<sup>7</sup> C. 44, v. 48.

<sup>8</sup> C. 44, v. 50.

<sup>9</sup> C. 44, v. 51.

<sup>10</sup> C. 44, v. 52.

<sup>11</sup> C. 44, v. 53-56.

<sup>12</sup> C. 44, v. 57.

<sup>13</sup> C. 44, v. 58, 59.

<sup>3</sup> C. 44, v. 17.

<sup>4</sup> C. 44, v. 20.

<sup>16</sup> C. 44, v. 60.

<sup>17</sup> C. 44, v. 62.

<sup>18</sup> C. 44, v. 66.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>20</sup> C. 44, v. 67.

<sup>21</sup> C. 44, v. 68.

<sup>22</sup> C. 44, v. 69.

<sup>23</sup> C. 44, v. 70-72.

<sup>24</sup> C. 44, v. 73.

<sup>25</sup> C. 44, v. 75.



with even greater vehemence.<sup>1</sup> The struggle continuing, the enemy pushed against Râmanâtha's devoted band, their chargers from one side and the Turkish archers from another.<sup>2</sup> In the midst of this *mêlee* Sangama Dâva, Kâṭaṇṇa and the brave young Bâdura all fell.<sup>3</sup>

All the while, egged on by the taunts and rebukes of Mâtangi,<sup>4</sup> the Vazirs, Khâns and Malliks<sup>5</sup> kept pressing on Râmanâtha from three sides.<sup>6</sup> Still Râmanâtha continued to fight with the courage of despair,<sup>7</sup> till at last he fell down struck by an unknown hand.<sup>8</sup> Thus the triumph of Mâtangi was complete.

Soon after, she gave orders for the disposal of the hero's body. Accordingly, his head (ਸੋਝੇ) wrapped in a cloth of gold was sent post haste to Dilli.<sup>9</sup> When this was presented to the Sultan he felt greatly grieved.<sup>10</sup> The Sultan's daughter on the other hand, feeling herself greatly disappointed at the turn events had taken, breathed her last unwilling to live after the death of the man she loved.<sup>11</sup> Thereupon the Sultan having raised a tomb over his dead daughter,<sup>12</sup> consulted the wisemen of his court, as to what he should do with the head of Râmanâtha. According to their advice,<sup>13</sup> he thought it better not to keep it with him. Thus returned to Kummaṭa, the head became united with the *linga*<sup>14</sup> (of Siva). His soul, on the other hand, was transformed into one of the Siva *gaṇas* (followers) in heaven.<sup>15</sup> On earth he became canonized as a saint and worshipped by many.<sup>16</sup>

<sup>1</sup> C. 44, v. 76, 82.

<sup>2</sup> C. 44, v. 92, 106.

<sup>3</sup> C. 44, v. 113; young here applied to Bâdura suggests that he was, perhaps, the son of the refugee.

<sup>4</sup> C. 45, v. 1.

<sup>6</sup> C. 45, v. 2.

<sup>5</sup> C. 45, v. 8.

<sup>7</sup> C. 45, v. 9-11, 17, 18.

<sup>8</sup> C. 45, v. 33-35; the meaning of the verses is not clear here as some words and lines are lost in the manuscript.

<sup>9</sup> C. 46, v. 82.

<sup>13</sup> C. 46, v. 93, 95.

<sup>10</sup> C. 46, v. 84.

<sup>14</sup> C. 46, v. 96.

<sup>11</sup> C. 46, v. 89, 90.

<sup>15</sup> C. 38, v. 49; C. 39, v. 116.

<sup>12</sup> C. 46, v. 92.

<sup>16</sup> C. 38, v. 52, 53.

NOTE:—In footnote 14 on page 98 of the last issue of this journal, an attempt was made to identify Rana Hammira with his namesake of Mēwar. But the difficulties in the way were also pointed out. This could not have been otherwise in the stage of my investigation at that time. With all that, Feristha's record of another Hamir, whom he calls Raja Humbur Dew, chief of Rantanbhore, answers Nanjunda's description better than any one. For his struggles with Alla-ood-Deen Khiljy and his death, see pages 337-342, Vol. I, Briggs' *History of the Rise of the Mohammedan Power in India*.

## EPOCHS OF THE HISTORY OF KERALA (MALABAR).

BY K. RAMAVARMA RAJA, ESQ., B.A.

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No other country seems to have so diverse and divergent, if not conflicting, versions of its early history as Malabar. For, there is, on the one hand, the ancient Tamil literature of the Sangam Age—the early centuries of the Christian era and later—from which the modern scholars have concluded that Malabar was the ancient Chera kingdom which, together with Chola and Pandya, constituted a group of “three Tamil kingdoms” of South India which were really, or so to say, “three sister states”, alike and similar in all respects, *i.e.*, race and religion, language and literature, customs and culture, and so on. But mention must not be omitted here of a section of Tamil scholars which is of opinion that Malabar was only a province of the ancient and extensive Chera Empire the centre or seat of which lay in the Coimbatore or the Trichinopoly district. The capital of the Empire was Vanji or Karur, and its sea-port, the great emporium, Muziris (Cranganore). The Chola capital city and port were Uraiyur and Puhar respectively. The Pandya capital was Madura with trading ports situated along the semi-circular or semi-elliptical coast line, Korkai, Kayal and Barkare or Bacare the last of which being identified with Porcad or Porca, the landing place of Kottayam in Travancore farther south of Muziris on the Malabar coast. The three states constituted what was known as ‘Tamilakam’ (Damirike or Limyrike of Ptolemy) which lay within the four boundaries of the Krishna-Tungabhadra line or Venkata hill (north), Cape Comorin (south) and the Seas (east and west). Chera Chenkuttuvan, Karikala Chola and Pandya Nedumcheliyan were some of the earliest as well as some of the most famous rulers of the three kingdoms where there existed social amity, religious toleration and mutual fellow-feeling in spite of the differences of caste, creed and nationality; all arts and crafts were diligently cultivated and pursued; foreign colonies had settled and flourished carrying on trade extending to China in the east and to Rome and the Mediterranean countries in the west; and peace and prosperity prevailed along with a high state of civilization and culture. For instance, the Hindus, the Jains and the Buddhists and the men of the east and the west lived side by side following their respective vocations with no hitch or friction. The authors of some of the Tamil classics were the Jains. ‘Epigraphy was silent about these times,’ but foreign testimony is not wanting in corroboration and support of the Tamil account of the three kingdoms. The Ceylon Chronicles, too, testify to the presence of King Gayabahu of the island at the consecration or dedication of a shrine to *Patnidevi* (wife-goddess) by Cheran Chenkuttuvan. Pliny,

Ptolemy and the author of the *Periplus*—all of the first and second centuries of the Christian era—give detailed accounts of the trade of ancient South India and her ports, and Roman coins have been discovered at the sites of these ancient cities and their suburbs. But the direct trade with Rome *via* Alexandria received a check by Caracalla's massacre at Alexandria in 215 A.D. and yet intercourse, less direct, continued and "increased in importance chiefly through the Christian communities of the Sassonian Empire and the visits of the learned Brahmans and others to the west". The celebrated Buddhist pilgrims had not met with any opposition and persecution in any of these kingdoms which closely followed Hiuen Tsang's visit in the seventh century A.D.<sup>1</sup>

2. The whole of South India is said to be the realm of the Sage Agastya whom the Tamilians seem to regard still as the founder and propounder of their Saiva Cult, as the author of the first Tamil Grammar known as "Agatthiam," and as residing, in spirit even now, on the sacred Podiya Hill somewhere near Cape Comorin in the extreme south of India. In fact, South India or Dakshinadesa is also called Agastya-dic where he is regarded as 'a culture hero' if not an '*heros eponymos*' of Brahmanic civilization. Hence it is that a temple of the Roman Emperor Augustus which, in Penteringian Tables is located at Muziris, is now being sought to be shown and interpreted to have been "a temple of Agastya in the country where Muziris stands", *i.e.*, vaguely in South India. But let the question whether the Saiva Cult of Agastya be Dravidian or Aryan in origin remain an open one now.<sup>2</sup>

3. After this brief general reference to the early history of the Tamil land, let me now make a special reference to the early Chera history in particular, in which the one royal figure that stands out in bold relief is the famous Chera Chenkuttuvan of the second century A.D. He is said to have reigned fifty-five years; and his father Nedum Cheraladan, too, was a great king who is said to have occupied the throne for fifty-eight years. During their combined reign lasting for more than a century, Chera was much

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<sup>1</sup> The authorities specially consulted were: (1) V. A. Smith's "Early History of India", (2) K. G. Seshu Iyer's paper on "A Problem of Ancient South Indian History" (*Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society*, January 1926), (3) Pandit N. Chengalvarayan's paper on "The Tamil Kings and their Government" (*Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society*, January 1928), (4) S. Srikantaiya's paper in the *Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society*, April 1928, pp. 294-341, (5) *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, October 1916, p. 849, and (6) Dr. S. Krishnaswamy Iyengar's "Chathu Punikkar Lectures" in the Maharaja's College, Ernakulam, published on p. 6 of the Educational and Literary Supplement of *The Hindu*, February 6, 1929.

<sup>2</sup> The papers consulted were: (1) O. C. Gangoly's article on "The Cult of Agastya" (*Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society*, January 1927) and (2) the article on "The Temple of Augustus in the South of India" by Mons. G. Jouveau Dubreuil (*Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society*, January 1929).

extended by conquest and became a great empire with enormous military and naval resources to support and maintain it in glory, and piracy that disturbed the trade of its seaport on the west coast was effectually suppressed, and Muziris became a flourishing emporium frequented by foreign ships. The Chera was the greatest sea power for several centuries more until this position was contested by the Chalukyas in the sixth century A.D., and yet continued to retain the command of its seas with a strong fleet which was eventually defeated and destroyed by the rising Chola power under Raja Raja I about the end of the tenth century A.D. when the Chera dynasty was superseded and overthrown by the Chola who extended the Chola dominions to the west coast and ruled over the country through his viceroys. This Chola regime lasted for not more than three centuries when it succumbed to the Mahomedan invasions, and the expanding and irresistible sway of the Vijayanagar Empire.<sup>1</sup>

4. Those Tamil scholars who hold the view that the capital of the Chera Empire was Vanji-Karur in the Trichinopoly district, have to admit that the west or Malabar coast was one of the Chera provinces administered or ruled by a feudatory prince of the royal house who, during the reign of Chenkuttuvan, was no other than his half brother, Adukotpattu Cheraladhan, whose court on the west coast was at Naravu, and that these provincial Satraps lived and ruled so grandly, generously and independently as to have been mistaken for the sovereign himself. On this supposition alone they could satisfactorily explain the Parasura Episode in 'Silappadikkaram' which describes the route and the visit of the learned Brahman Parasura to the Chera capital on the west coast. The same scholars further concede that after the time of the most valiant Chera monarch, Chenkuttuvan, his successors could not hold their ground against the attacks of the foreign enemies on the borders, viz., the Kongu Princes, and were forced in course of the latter's repeated inroads, to leave their capital Vanji-Karur in Trichinopoly and to found a new and safer one on the west or Malabar coast which was their own province and where Trikkannur became their first capital which was eventually transferred to Thiruvanchakulam when the Chera Empire was restored to her former greatness under Cheraman Perumal Nayanar.<sup>2</sup>

5. Thus we have Vanji-Karur in duplicate. The Siva's temple at Thiruvanchakulam is regarded as a duplicate (in substance, and not in form

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<sup>1</sup> Besides the works and papers already referred to, Prof. S. V. Venkateswaran's paper on "Sea Power in Early South Indian History" (*Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society*, April 1926) is my additional authority for the statements herein made.

<sup>2</sup> For this exposition, I am indebted to Mr. R. Rangachariar, M.A., L.T., whose learned and interesting paper on "Vanchi—the Chera Capital" published in *The Hindu* (daily—Madras), August 30, 1922, p. 5, is too long for quotation here,

perhaps) of the Chidambaram temple on the east coast. The Vaikom temple here is called 'Vyaghrapuram' which is another name of Chidambaram. There is one Rishabhadrī temple dedicated as sacred to Vishnu on the eastern side of the Western Ghats while the great temple of the same name at Trichur is chiefly devoted to the worship of Siva along with his consort, Parvati, Sri Rama, Sankaranarayana, etc. This latter is also called 'Dakshina Kailasa'—an appellation which is chiefly applied to the celebrated 'Kalahasti' temple of Siva. Swetaranya is said to be the place where Markandeya was rescued from the clutches of 'the demon of death' by Siva while here in Malabar Triprangode (=Tripurumgode?) an old sacred shrine of Siva situated not far away from Tirunavaye on the Bharata river, is regarded to have been the scene of this Puranic legend. These and other duplications seem to indicate the uniformity of South Indian culture. With this may be closed the brief account of the Tamil Epoch of the history of Malabar or Kerala.

6. As against this, we have, on the other hand, the Brahmanical, Puranic or mythical version of the early history of the land of Kerala contained in the Sanskrit works, such as '*Keralolpathi*', '*Keralamahatmya*', '*Shankara-Smṛithi*', etc. These so-called sacred texts know not of the Tamil version and start afresh from the very beginning—the creation of the land by Bhargava Rama by reclaiming it from the sea, the settlement of the Brahman colonists there as the proprietors of the soil and the establishment of special institutions for the maintenance of the Brahman theocracy so well organized. The description of the land as 'Bhargava-kshetra' may be explained figuratively with reference to his weapon—the axe—by the hurling or throwing of which out into the open sea the land is said to have been formed. The chain of the Western Ghats lying parallel to the coast line may be compared with the stem or body of the axe, and the two hill spurs running to the sea coast at Varkallai and Varakkul enclosing the alluvial land formed between them. Compare the expressions 'Pillars of Hercules' used with reference to 'the Straits of Gibraltar'. In short, Bhargava Rama is regarded here as 'the culture hero' or '*heros eponymos*' of Kerala. The legend of his reclamation of the land is a truly Puranic one and references to Kerala are met with in the true Puranic works also in some of which mention is made of a country, '*Stri-rajya*' by name, of which '*Trai-rajya*' is another reading found in the southern texts. This country is identified with Malabar and the compound word '*Stri-rajya*' (meaning 'women's country or realm') seems to be the Sanskrit equivalent of '*Peṇ-Malayalam*' (= 'Women's Malayalam') and seems to refer to the matriarchal system of inheritance prevailing in this country. The other reading '*Trai-rajya*' may also be explained to mean 'a group or confederacy of the three states' and may possibly refer to 'the three South

Indian Kingdoms'. It may pertinently be pointed out here that no reference to matriarchy has been met with so far by me in the Tamil accounts of the Chera which was closely related to her sister States, Chola and Pandya, by race, language, religion, custom and culture. If it had prevailed in one it must have prevailed in all; and Megasthenes, the Ambassador of Seleukos Nikator at the Court of Chandragupta Maurya in the fourth century B.C., relates a strange story he had heard 'about the southern realm which was supposed to be under the regime of women'. This was that of Pandaia, daughter of Herakles, born in India, who got from her father the southern portion of India extending to the sea as her realm where she possessed and ruled over 365 villages each contributing one day's tribute to her treasury in turn so that she could get the tribute every day of the year from one village. Here Vincent Smith adds in a footnote on page 452 of his *Early History of India* "that the story may have been suggested by distorted reports of the Malabar system of inheritance through females," assuming that it existed in some form as early as the fourth century B.C. for which clear, conclusive and convincing evidences seem to be wanting as the Tamil classics of Sangam Age contain no allusions or references to it. The Puranas in their existing form range, in dates, from the fourth or fifth to the tenth or twelfth century A.D., some of the interpolations being, possibly, of still later date. The special institutions and customs of Malabar have therefore to be satisfactorily explained, and the problem is a very difficult one for solution.<sup>1</sup>

7. Mediæval and later Malabar differed from the Tamil Nadu in almost all important respects. Politically, it has been, till of late, governed by the local chiefs or Rajas guided by the Brahman theocracy without much outside interference and control, their allegiance to the distant central power having been purely formal. There was a Brahmanical military organization consisting of armed units called "the Sangha orders" which were in sharp contrast with other Sanghas—the Buddhist 'Sangha' which was a monastic order and the Tamil 'Sangam' which was a literary academy—and may be compared with the Crusading order of the Knights-Templars, partly religious and partly military. The Nairs who formed the hereditary military class supplied the regular fighting field force. The economic system was wholly individualistic as opposed to the communistic village system, the land being the absolute property of the individual or family, and 'a sort of military tenure

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<sup>1</sup> Other special references are : (1) Footnote on p. 583, *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, October 1919 and (2) the account of Malabar on p. 310, *Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society*, April 1927. See also my paper on "Varkallai and Varakkal", *Ernaculam College Magazine*, January 1924. Malabar proper has also been roughly described as the triangular area enclosed within the three limits:—Quilon (South Kollam), Quilandy (North Kollam) and Kollamgode (the Eastern Kollam).

resembling in many respects the feudal system of Europe existed'. The society consisted of various strata or castes which were so interdependent and bound by mutual services that the upper classes could not entirely dispense with the services of the lower ones, and *vice versa*. Succession or inheritance was matriarchal among the non-Brahman classes among whom the marriage tie was somewhat loose. Among the Brahmans, the eldest son alone marries a caste girl or more, or maidens, after puberty, and his junior brothers consort with the non-Brahman women. The loose marriage system is being reformed and recognized as valid legal marriage. The religious observances too were marked by noteworthy peculiarities:—The cremation of the dead body in the house compound itself instead of in a common crematorium outside; *Sraddhas* on star-day (Nakshatra) and not on the lunar-day (Tithi) of death; a new period or stage of life, loose and free intervening between Brahmacharya (studentship) and the Grahasta's or householder's status or married life; the tuft of hair on the crown of the head instead of behind it; several wives or polygamy; daily and ceremonial use of white clothes washed and starched by washermen, etc., etc. The special customs of Malabar are called '*anāchāras*' which are 64 in number. These and other special features even now differentiate Malabar from the Tamil Nadu on the eastern side of the Ghats. It is authoritatively held that Malayalam as a language separate from Tamil did not exist in the early centuries of the Christian era, or till the tenth century, and the use of the Tamil word '*Kizhakku*' (lowland or sloping ground) in Malabar for 'the east' which is a rising upland here on the west coast clearly proves the early Tamil contact and influence. These evidences have been adduced to show that Malabar and its society as at present organized and settled are of recent origin and cannot have any claim to antiquity.<sup>1</sup>

8. How was this new era of entirely changed conditions brought about? There were several causes, one of which was geographical isolation. It is true there was physical or natural separation of Malabar even before by the high impenetrable mountain barrier on the east and the sea on the west. But this was, to a great extent, and for all practical purposes, overcome by the commercial enterprise from outside, and free social intercourse within, unfettered by differences of caste and creed. Racial affinity, common language and culture, and a general (and not local) administrative system during the Tamil epoch must have contributed towards the uniformity of social

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<sup>1</sup> (1) Mr. R. Rangachariar's paper above referred to, (2) Smith's "Early History of India", p. 439, and (3) S. Srikantaia's paper in the *Journal of the Mythic Society* already quoted, are the sources of my information. See also my paper on 'The Sangha Orders of Malabar' (*Ernaculam College Magazine*, April 1920).

organization and body politic in the east and in the west of the Ghats. The Alexandrian Massacre of 215 A.D. above referred to, giving a check to the Romo-Egyptian trade was one of the forces of disintegration. Religious persecution of the Jains as well as of the Buddhists started in the seventh century at the instigation of the Saiva saints and ardent Vaishnava devotees, was another ; Brahmanical revival of a later date led by Sri Sankaracharya was the third ; and the fall of the Chera power followed by that of Chola, and with it, of the Tamil dominion in South India in consequence of the Mahomedan invasion and the expansion of the Vijayanagar Empire, though last, was not the least in importance. The result of the last was that the local chiefs and magnates that had been feudatory and subordinate to the Chera monarch and the Chola viceroy, became virtually independent, owing only a formal allegiance to the distant Mahomedan or Vijayanagar royal dynasty, especially on account of the country being naturally isolated. The Brahmanical revival of the ninth century was equally, if not far more, revolutionary in consequences. After a violent and merciless suppression of the rival Buddhistic and Jaina faiths existing in the land, it naturally advanced towards the extreme goal of exclusive orthodoxy and rigorous enforcement of the '*Varnasramadhharma*' rules formulated by the organized Brahman theocracy that had the guidance and control in its hands of all the local administrations. The Hindu religion was firmly established on a comprehensive philosophical basis. Whether as a matter of policy or of social necessity, the Brahmins, though exclusive, moved somewhat freely among their immediate lower classes down to the Nairs constituting the military force whose loyal support was by no means negligible while it was very necessary for maintenance of the new social order, even condescending to form irregular sexual alliances with their womenfolk which were treated as open secrets in the family circles. The ancient precedents of the great Rishis having married in the royal houses for perpetuation of the families were not wanting in support of the practice. In primitive societies the mother-right or matriarchal system is found in association with promiscuous sexual intercourse and consequent uncertainty of fatherhood. Similar conditions prevailed in Malabar after the new Aryan or Brahman subjugation or reconquest. Almost similar institutions arose and existed once (if not prevalent to-day) in some of the European settlements and colonies. Compulsory daily and frequent ablutions and baths on religious grounds might have led to the adoption of simple white dress. — The Brahman householder having had enough of work at home, his junior brothers were probably sent out to work among the other classes and to see that the new dispensations went on well everywhere. Private landlordism and feudal



tenure were the determining factors in the construction of houses; the landlord would have a big mansion to accommodate a joint family, and this, within a large compound surrounded by farms and cottages for the servants and dependants, and the street system would not answer the purpose so well. Madhava, the author of '*Sankara Vijaya*' (Sri Sankara's conquest or life) says in Canto XIV that Sri Sankara's own people having refused to supply fire for burning the dead body of his mother, he got very angry and pronounced a curse on them by which they were (1) deprived of the Vedic scholarship or study-right and other connected privileges, and of the social status to receive and feed any holy ascetic in their houses, and (2) required or obliged, thenceforth, to burn the dead near in their house compounds themselves. But cremation in the house compound is a general practice in Malabar, and every house therefore must have a compound for this purpose, and must be big enough to accommodate a joint family, large or small, at the same time. Frequent ablutions require tanks and wells near by, preferably within the compound itself. Gradually, a new and stagnating state of things came into existence in which the ideal form of high life was strictly religious, ritualistic and secluded; and easy, aristocratic and conservative. To understand and realize fully the new situation following on the collapse of the Chera or Tamil Empire, one has but to turn to the Middle Ages in Europe for a historic parallel on a gigantic scale. There the disruption of the Roman Empire resulted in utter confusion and disorder out of which arose the feudal system and monastic order with the power of Papal hierarchy increased. The reader will find a very vivid and comprehensive account of it in the opening paragraphs in Book VI, Chapter XXXII, of "*The Outline of History*" by H. G. Wells which is worth a very careful study to work out the parallelism here. Rise of the local chiefs and daring adventurers to power, introduction of feudal tenure, power of the Brahman theocracy with Thamprakkal (the highest dignitary among the Kerala-Brahmans) at its head, and its strict secluded and religious life were the parallel results here in Malabar following on the fall of the Chera or Tamil Empire. This new era may be called Brahmanical or Malayalam Epoch. I have given an account of the Brahmanical organizations or institutions of Malabar in my paper on "*The Brahmins of Malabar*" (*Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, July 1910). Here I have attempted to account for the special features of this epoch and to explain away the apparent inconsistency between the two conflicting sources of the early history of Kerala—the Tamil and Brahmanical works—by assigning them to different epochs of which the later—Brahmanical—has so completely suppressed and eclipsed the earlier that no traces or relics of it are left except here and there

in language and vague traditions. The old part was entirely obliterated by the new era which superseded it, and which was built on its site. It lies buried in oblivion. Hence there is complete break with the past.<sup>1</sup>

9. The Brahmanical revival may be said to have commenced during the time of Sri Sankaracharya about 825 A.D. when the Chera king was reigning, and made progress as in other Tamil countries during the succeeding centuries of the Tamil epoch which came to a close by the end of the thirteenth century by which time Malayalam as a separate language had attained full development and came into use. Thence commences the Mediæval, Brahmanical or true Malayalam epoch with Brahman theocracy fully organized, with the country divided among the local chiefs, with lands held in feudal tenure, and with a social order completely reorganized as described above. This epoch was in its full vigour till it came into contact and clash with the modern European powers and their civilizations; and it has since been on the decline under their influence. The closing period of the Tamil epoch and the early rising period of the Malayalam epoch overlapping each other may be treated as a transition period.<sup>2</sup>

10. Standing on this concluding step and looking back, I see that I have ascended by the same steps as were constructed by the authorities already quoted, and claim no credit for any originality in this exposition. But I want to remind the modern students of Malabar history that no ancient history of the country can be constructed without the help of the Tamil works and epigraphical records, and that the local Malayalam and Sanskrit literature would not take them back to the ages much prior to the thirteenth or tenth century A.D. Yet further epigraphical research may prove fruitful and I therefore repeat my appeal that the inscriptions already collected including the one in North Indian characters found somewhere near Thiruvanchakulam and lately removed to the State Museum at Trichur, may be correctly deciphered and interpreted with the help of experts.

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<sup>1</sup> See my "Comparative Studies" (continued), 1914, 2nd Essay, pp. 27-40 and note the change or modification of my former view. My "Comparative Studies" of earlier date (1908) on 'Caste', pp. 19-34, may also prove relevant in this study.

<sup>2</sup> It seems to me probable that Sri Sankaracharya's new system of the philosophy of Hinduism, though born and established in principle by defeat and overthrow of the rival schools by arguments in open controversy, and by institution of Mutts, in practice, during his lifetime, did not attain its full growth and strength until it had an earnest, enthusiastic and whole-hearted advocate in the reputed scholar-minister, Madhava, wielding the power of the Vijayanagar Court in the latter half of the fourteenth century. The latter may be said to have done for Sri Sankara's Vedantic or Advaitic School in the south something like (though much less than) what Asoka had done for Buddhism,

# JURA "PRASASTI" OF RASHTRAKUTA KRISHNA III.

BY T. T. SHARMAN, ESQ.

THIS inscription which is being edited below for the first time,<sup>1</sup> was brought to light by Mr. R. D. Banerji, M.A., in 1922, when he was the Superintendent of the Western Circle of the Archæological Survey of India. He sent two excellent inked impressions of the record to Rao Bahadur H. Krishna Sastri, for decipherment. I edit it from these impressions so kindly placed at my disposal by the latter.

About the find-place of the inscription Mr. Banerji writes as follows:—

“ The Kanarese inscription in question was found on a stone slab now used as a lintel in a modern bungalow inside an old fort, in a village of Jura in the State of Maihar<sup>2</sup> in Central India. Jura is a small hamlet about 12 miles from Maihar Station and it lies at a distance of 4 miles from the Calcutta-Bombay trunk road which passes through the town of Maihar. The existence of the inscription was brought to my notice by the Dewan of Maihar. ”

The inscription is written in the Kannada characters of about the tenth century A.D. The writing is well preserved throughout excepting a few syllables at the beginning of lines 3-13 and the middle of lines 14-23 which are defaced. The average height of the letters varies from  $1\frac{1}{2}$ " (e.g., *śri* in l. 2 and *tra* in l. 10) to  $\frac{1}{2}$ " (*da* in l. 32 and *ya* in l. 25). The language is *old Kannada* verse (ll. 11-33) and prose (ll. 1-10 and 33-37). All the four verses are in the *Kanda* metre. The 37 lines of writing occupy a space of 4' by 9'.

In respect of paleographical and orthographical peculiarities the following may be noted:—

- (1) *L* is correctly used in *Kiḷta* (ll. 20, 21), *Chōḷa* (l. 20) and *Iḷdāḍida* (l. 32) but wrongly in *Sūḷ* (l. 29);
- (2) *E* is found in place of *I* in *Nōḍire* (ll. 26 & 28);
- (3) *S* is employed for *Ś* *Praśasti* (l. 36);
- (4) The *anusvāra* takes the place of the nasal except in *Vedaṅgam* (l. 21);

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<sup>1</sup> This paper was ready on 26-10-1922.

<sup>2</sup> A sannad State in Central India under the Political Agent in Baghelkhand lying between 23°59' and 24°24' N. and 80°23' and 81°00' E., with an area of about 407 square miles. (*Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Vol. XVIII, p. 27.)

- (5) The *e*-sign in *mole* (l. 31), *bērinde* (ll. 19 & 21) and *bērim* (l. 20) and the *u*-sign of *ru* in *maruḷa* (l. 4) differ from the signs for the same used in other cases, in the record;
- (6) The consonant *ka* is doubled after *r* in *vaniteyarkka* (l. 11); and
- (7) The *e*-sign in *kāme* (l. 34) and the secondary *m* in *Chimmayya* (l. 37) are peculiarly formed.

The object of the inscription was evidently to bring together all the *birudās* of Kannara-Dēva; and the *praśasti* (eulogy) (l. 35) was composed by Chimmayya and caused to be written by Chandayya. Kannaradēva mentioned here is identical with Krishṇa III the *Rāśhtrakūṭa* king of Mālkhed, who ruled from A.D. 937-967;<sup>1</sup> since in the record the king claims to have rooted out the Chōḷas and we know from various sources that the *Rāśhtrakūṭa* king, Krishṇa III, killed Rājāditya Chōḷa at *Thakkōlam* in about A.D. 950 and also because most of the *birudās* given in the record to Kannaradēva are known to have been borne by Krishṇa III. It may be however observed that the titles *Nripatuṅga*, *Ānevedeṅga*, *Parāṅganāputra* and *Kabbega* found in the inscription are rather new.

Dr. Fleet was of opinion that the *birudās* ending in *tuṅga* were not borne by any king of the *Rāśhtrakūṭa* dynasty except Gōvind III who was called *Jagattuṅga*. But it has to be noted that *tuṅga* seems to have been a well-known family name-ending of the *Rāśhtrakūṭas*. These kings are often referred to in epigraphical records as *Tuṅgas*. Krishṇa I bore the title *Śubhatuṅga*;<sup>2</sup> long before him Dantivarman was called *Sāhasatuṅga* and in the present inscription we find the title *Nripatuṅga* given to Krishṇa III. The title *Parāṅganāputra* is the subject-matter of the present eulogy (ll. 11-16 and 22-23) a favourite *birudā* of Krishṇa III which he must have valued most.

In verse 2 which gives him the title *Ānevedeṅga* we are told that this 'admirable elephant rider' rooted out the Chōḷa who in his turn had uprooted the Pāṇḍya. The Chōḷa who is stated to have uprooted the Pāṇḍya should be Parāntaka I, who reigned from A.D. 907-953.<sup>3</sup> As soon as Parāntaka I ascended the throne he is known to have fought with the Pāṇḍyas and taken Madura their capital. In a second war with the Pāṇḍyas which broke out about 918 A.D. and ended in the battle of Vēlūr, the Chōḷa utterly defeated the combined forces of the Pāṇḍyas and the Ceylonese. The third and the last expedition which Parāntaka undertook against the Pāṇḍyas happened about A.D. 943 and the Chōḷa arms were then carried not only into

<sup>1</sup> No. 236 of 1913 states that Krishṇa III died in Saka 889. (*Madras Epigraphical Report* for 1914, p. 103.)

<sup>2</sup> *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IV, p. 279.

<sup>3</sup> *Madras Epigraphical Report* for 1907, p. 58 ff.

Madura but also to the island of Lanka, evidently to crush the Singhalese who gave shelter to the fugitive Pāṇḍya prince.

Facts are not wanting to show that the Rāśhṭrakūṭas invaded the Chōḷa dominions in South India in the tenth century A.D. Gōvinda III claimed tribute from Aṇṇiga,<sup>1</sup> the Pallava ruler of Kāñchī, and Amōghavarśha I<sup>2</sup> seems to have invaded the territory of the Ganga king Prithvīpati II who was a subordinate of the Chōḷa king, Parāntaka I. The Karhad plates clearly state that Krishṇa III completely destroyed the Chōḷas and distributed their territory among his followers, defeated the Chēra and the Pāṇḍya, planted a pillar of victory at Rāmēśwaram and advanced as far as Ceylon. The famous battle of *Thakkōlam* (A.D. 949-50) where Parāntaka's son Rājāditya Chōḷa was defeated and killed<sup>3</sup> by Krishṇa III is already known from the Ātakūr inscription.<sup>4</sup> The Deoli<sup>5</sup> plates also confirm the statements of the above record. The well-known Chōḷa records, *viz.*, the Leyden<sup>6</sup> grant and the Tiruvālaṅgādu<sup>7</sup> plates support the campaign of Krishṇa III in Southern India; but the latter says that Rājāditya defeated Krishṇa and went to heaven. Some Tamil records from Ukkal,<sup>8</sup> Tirukkalakkunṇu<sup>9</sup> and a few other places in North Arcot give to Krishṇa the title *Kachchiyum Tañjeyum koṇḍa*, 'who captured Kanchi and Tanjore'.

A Śravaṇabelgola inscription<sup>10</sup> calls Krishṇa III 'Chōḷakulāntaka'. All these facts lead us to the conclusion that in the time of Parāntaka I or rather in the latter part of it the Chōḷa territory, evidently the northern part of it passed into the hands of the Rāśhṭrakūṭas.

The conquest of South India by Krishṇa III being thus established, our present record which comes from Jūra near Jubbalpur can be taken as strong evidence to show that his conquests extended even into the central portion of India. The Deoli, Lakshmeswar and the Śravaṇabelgola records mentioned above also refer to such an expedition of Krishṇa III.

<sup>1</sup> *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XI, p. 127.

<sup>2</sup> *Salem Manl.*, Vol. II, p. 373.

<sup>3</sup> It is Ganga prince Butuga II (938-953) the younger son of Ereyappa and the brother-in-law of Krishṇa III who killed Rājāditya, having attacked him in single combat on his elephant. For his services Krishṇa rewarded him with Banavasi 12,000, Purigere 300, Belvola 300, Kisukadu 70 and Bagenad 70.

<sup>4</sup> *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VI, p. 50 ff.

<sup>5</sup> *Jour. (Bom.) R.A.S.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 252.

<sup>6</sup> *S.I.I.*, Vol. III, Part II, No. 7.

<sup>7</sup> *S.I.I.*, Vol. III.

<sup>8</sup> *S.I.I.*, Nos. 832 to 845 which are found in *A.R.*, Nos. 19 to 32 of 1893.

<sup>9</sup> *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. III, p. 282.

<sup>10</sup> *E.C.* II, No. 38.

## TEXT.

1. Svasti [1\*] Parama-bhattāra-
2. ka Paramēśvara Śrī-<sup>1</sup>pri-
3. thvī-Va[llabha] Mahārājā[dhi]-
4. rā[ja <sup>2</sup>ne]llara-maruja [na]-
5. nni-[Vedeṁga]m̐ chalake-na[llā]-
6. tam̐ [Vairi]-Viṣāsam̐ Mada[ga]-
7. ja-mallam̐ *Parāṁganā-pu-*
8. *tram̐ Ga[nḍa]-mārtāṇḍan-Akāla-Va-<sup>3</sup>*
9. *riṣham̐ [Nriṣa-tuṁgam̐] Kabhbhegam̐* Śrī-
10. mat=*Kannara-dēvam̐* || Ka[nda||]
11. ....Vaniteyarkka-
12. ....gaḷum̐ bama-
13. ....Kaṇḍum̐ nōḍa-
14. du kaṇ=nuḍiyadu bā[y=vō]-
15. ḍadu chittam̐ *Parāṁganā-*
16. *putrakana* || [1||\*] Bhārata-
17. doḷ=i[ri]dan=Indranoḷ=ōrā-
18. sana jāṇan=enipa *Pā-*
19. *ṇḍyana* kulamam̐ bērinde
20. kiḷta [*chō*]!a[na] bēram̐
21. bērin[de ki]!tan=*Āne-Ve-*
22. *ḍeṅgam̐* || [2 || \*] Sōlade para-Va-
23. nitege Kaṇ=sōladu mo-
24. lēvālan=ūḍi naḍapida
25. tōyam̐<sup>4</sup> mēl=ene bagegum̐
26. nōḍire sōladu chittam̐
27. *Parāṁganā-putrakana* || [3 || \*]
28. nōḍire para-vadhuge
29. manam̐ kūḍadu sū! = sū-
30. loḷ<sup>5</sup>=etti na[ḍa]pida
31. tō! = unḍ=āḍida-mole ba-
32. ru!t= oḷag=ild=āḍida chittam̐
33. *Parāṁganā-putrakana* || [4 || \*]
34. Svasti [1\*] ubbi Kā[me] setṭiya
35. tammam̐ Tuyyala Chand-
36. yyam̐ prasastiyam̐<sup>6</sup> bare[yisi]-
37. dam̐ [1\*] baredane Chi[mma]yyam̐ [ || \*]

<sup>1</sup> Read *Prithvi*.<sup>2</sup> Read *Nallara*.<sup>3</sup> Read *Varsham*.<sup>4</sup> Read *tāyam*.<sup>5</sup> Another *Isū* which was by mistake engraved has been erased<sup>6</sup> Read *Praśastiyam*.

## TRANSLATION.

Lines 1—10.

Hail supreme master ; supreme lord ; favourite of Fortune and Earth ; great emperor ; the maddener of good men (nallara-maruja) ; a marvel in truth ; he who is beautiful on account of (his) firmness of character ; he who takes pleasure at the sight of enemies ; wrestler with rutting elephants (mada-gaja-malla<sup>1</sup>) ; son of other women ; son among powerful warriors (gaṇḍa-mārthaṇḍa<sup>2</sup>) ; Akālavārśha ; Nripatunga ; poet (Kabbegam<sup>3</sup>) ; the glorious Kannaradēva.

*Verse 1.*—.....women.....the eye of 'the son of other women' (Parāṅganāputraka) seeing, does not see; (his) mouth does not speak and (his) mind does not run.

*Verse 2.*—He 'a marvel in (riding) elephants' (Ānevedeṅgaṁ) rooted out the Chōja that had uprooted the Pāṇḍya, killed his enemies in the Bhārata (war) and had cleverly enough shared with Indra one-half of his throne<sup>4</sup>.

*Verse 3.*—The mind not yielding, the eye does not yield to (the attractions of) other women. But see the mind of Parāṅganāputra thinks (every woman other than his wife) to be more than (his) mother who has suckled (him) and brought (him) up. His mind is in no case attracted (to her).

*Verse 4.*—Look ! The mind of Parāṅganāputra does not wish to unite with other women (whom like unto his mother) he considered to have repeatedly taken him (in their arms) brought (him) up, suckled and played with him.

Lines 34-37.

Hail ! Tuyyala Chandayya, younger brother of Ubbi Kāmesetti, caused this eulogy (praśasti) to be written (and) Chimmayya wrote it.

<sup>1</sup> Another variant of this *biruda* is Vanagaja-malla.

<sup>2</sup> Kīrti-mārtaṇḍa is another *biruda* of the same king. The Kaveripakkam inscription (No. 382 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1905) of Rājakesarivarman registers an endowment in favour of Kīrti-mārtaṇḍa and the Kāla-priya temples, built perhaps by the Rāshtrakūta king, Krishna III, who in his Karhad inscription (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IV, p. 281) was encamped at Melpati (Melpadi near Tiruvallam in the North Arcot Dist.) for 'establishing his followers in the southern provinces' and 'constructing temples to Kālapriya, Gaṇḍa-martandā, Krishnesvara and others'. (*Annual Report on Epigraphy*, Southern Circle, for 1906, p. 52.)

<sup>3</sup> It is interesting to note that the same *biruda* is given to Krishnaraja of the Rāshtrakūta family in an inscription of the Rutta chief Kartavirya IV at Nesarigi in the Sampagam taluk of the Belgaum District. Dr. Fleet who edited this record (*J. (Bom.) R.A.S.*, Vol. X, p. 240 ff.) read it correctly as Kabbegam. But subsequently in editing the Atkur inscription where the same *biruda* is used he changed Kabbegam into Kachchegam and gave it a far-fetched meaning. It is true we have not got enough evidence, literary or epigraphical, to justify the *biruda* Kabbegam given to Krishna III. But it is an established fact that the Rāshtrakūtas of Malkhed were great patrons of Kannada literature ; and Amoghavarsha I of this dynasty wrote *Kaviraja-marga* in Kannada. It is Krishna III who bestowed the *biruda* of *Kavichakravarti* on Ponna.

<sup>4</sup> Probably this is a reference to the Pāṇḍya who overcame the army of the lord of the Kurus and conquered Vijaya. (*Mad. Ep. Report* for 1907, p. 49. See *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XVI.) The engraving of the Pāṇḍya crest on the top of the mount Meru and sharing with Indra one-half of his throne and his garland are also mentioned in the Sinnamonur plates and this is often referred to in later Pāṇḍya inscriptions of the thirteenth century A.D. (*Mad. Ep. Report* for 1908, p. 64.)

## AUSTRIC AND DRAVIDIAN.

By L. V. RAMASWAMI AIYAR, ESQ., M.A., B.L.

(Continued from Vol. XX, No. 2.)

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So far, our observations have been directly concerned with correspondences existing mainly between the central Dravidian dialects and Austric. In the next portion, dealing with vocabulary, we shall take a wider view and try to visualize the possibility of the existence of traces, in the vocabularies of Austric and Dravidian, of a certain degree of influence that might have come into operation in a pre-historic past or in a period about which history is dumb. It goes without saying that we are treading on very delicate ground here, and tentative suggestions alone are possible. Word-correspondences may be purely fortuitous and unless the etymologies of the corresponding forms are fully discussed on the one side and on the other, no conclusions will be justified. In the study of Austric etymologies,<sup>1</sup> not only have the Indian Austric forms to be considered but their affinities with the forms of other Austro-Asiatic forms on the one hand, and the Austronesian forms on the other, will have to be envisaged. Even if we should succeed in constructing hypothetical Austric proto-forms, we shall have, on account of our limited knowledge of the historical development of these languages, to be on our guard against dogmatizing on the question as to which of these language-systems is the lender and which the borrower; for we cannot overlook the possibility of Dravidian and Austric having remained in contact for centuries in a remote past; and what might appear to us to-day, by virtue of antiquity and common occurrence in numerous dialects, to be Proto-Dravidian or Proto-Austric, may after all be borrowings.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> If there had been any considerable mutual influence between Austric and Dravidian, we should expect to find its traces more in the region of vocabulary than in phonology or grammar, having regard to the fact that borrowings of words prove the *contact* of languages, while changes in grammar and phonology would arise only from the *mingling* of the populations speaking the two languages.

The fact that Kurukh shows close resemblances in phonology and grammar might point to the mingling of the Kurukhs (Oraons) and the Kolarians. Anthropological evidence seems to attest this fact in a remarkable degree. (*Vide L.S.*, Vol. IV.)

<sup>2</sup> Observe, for instance, the difficulty of deciding whether Dravidian *ur* or Austric *kura* is the original, even granting that there is a relationship between the two words.



No attempt is made in what follows to work out these possibilities. A few avenues of inquiry are suggested and a list of word-correspondences is given in the hope that Dravidologists may be induced to envisage new "perspectives" which may prove fruitful.

(c) *Vocabulary.*

(i) The initial *v*-, (*m*-?), *n*- of a number of words in Dravidian which have alternative forms with more or less the same meanings but without these initial sounds, could be traced<sup>1</sup>, so far as our materials would warrant, to the characteristic Dravidian process of the incorporation of the on-glides: front *y* and dorsal *v*, before the initial palatal and dorsal vowels of words.

Apart from these, there are a number of words in Dravidian possessing the initial sounds *p*-, *k*- and *t*- that *appear* to have an intrusive origin when we compare words possessing these initial sounds with those in which they are absent. In the present state of our knowledge of proto-Dravidian forms, it is difficult in *all* cases to determine whether the originals in these instances had initial vowels or consonants; but the fact that many of these words with initial vowels are common to all Dravidian dialects, strengthened by the additional consideration that the initial *v*-, *b*-, *m*- and *n*- of a number of words cannot but be of a secondary origin, leads us to adumbrate the possibility of a large number of instances of words with initial *p*-, *k*- and *t*- also, having had a similar *secondary* origin.

If the originals are those possessing initial vowels, whence could the initial *p*-, *k*- and *t*- have arisen? Is it possible that these intrusive particles are only the attenuations of genuine Dravidian words? The exact shades or *nuances* of meanings which mark off the forms with these sounds from those that do not have them, cannot be definitely ascertained; and nothing therefore can be said as to whether they are the vestiges of indurated affix-words.

Anyway, the remarkable fact that these sounds are intrusive, correlates them to the Austric prefixes *p*-, *k*-, *t*-. Pater Schmidt is of opinion that the affixes of Austric (prefixes, infixes and suffixes) may have been the softened vestiges of ancient forms. It is possible therefore that in origin and in function the affixes of Dravidian and those of Austric may have been alike. But our probabilizing must stop here. Whether there was indeed any relationship between these and, if so, which could be said to be originals, are problems requiring further study.

The following groups of Dravidian words irresistibly raise the problem of prefixation in this family:—

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<sup>1</sup> *Vide my Notes on Dravidian. (Indian Historical Quarterly, September 1928 and March 1929.)*

Dravidian (Tamil) forms with *k*-

*Kolai* (to shake)  
*Karai* (to cry)  
*Kāl̥i* (to remove)  
*Karugai* (kind of grass)  
*Kāl̥* (to become deep)  
*Kīru* (to tear)

etc., etc.

Dravidian forms with initial *p*-

*Pagam* (love, wisdom)  
*Paśai* (to become dim, to shake)  
*Pañju* (that which moves easily—  
 cotton, etc.)

*Pīnai* (to be entangled)

*Parivu* (love)

*Puralu* (to become attached, to turn  
 all around)

*Pūṇu* (to take on), *pūttu* (to fix)

*Pūṇḍi* (town, village,) etc.

*Podi* (to break off into small pieces)

*Porunda* (to become one)

*Pol̥i* (to overflow, etc.)

Dravidian forms with initial *t*-

*Taḍavu* (to stroke), *Taḍai* (contact)

*Tayan̥gu* (to move off)

*Taru* (to give), Tel. *tisu*

*Tar̥i* (to cut)

*Tar̥ai* (to fix)

*Tāl̥* (to become deep)

*Tuṇai* (opening)

Dravidian (Tamil) forms with more or  
 less the same meanings without initial *k*-<sup>1</sup>.

*olai*

*erai*

*āl̥i*

*aṛugai*

*āl̥u*

*īru*

Dravidian forms without initial *p*

*agam*

*aśai*

*ayai, aśai*

*īnai* (to be mixed)

*aru* (nearness)

*uruḷu*

cf. *ul̥* (inside)

*odi*

or

*ol̥i* (to become removed; to  
 pour off, etc.)

Dravidian forms without initial *t*-

*aḍ*

*ayai, aśai*

*ī*

*aṛ*

*aṛai*

*āl̥*

cf. *√ ul̥*

Prefixes are a common device in Austric word-formation. *Pater Schmidt* points out the existence among others of the following prefixes of Austric:—

*ka-* denoting more or less the idea of group-connection;

<sup>1</sup> The forms without the initial consonants cannot be glibly explained as being those in which initial consonants have been lost. The large number of cognate forms with initial vowels, occurring in all dialects, precludes any such generalization on this point.

*pa-* signifying a causative idea in some dialects as a prefix and the idea of "grouping together" as a suffix in an earlier stage of Austric as shown by the common signification of the final *-p* (Auslaut) of many words;

*ta-*, *da-*, similarly induce certain common meanings.

The problem now is quite clear. Is there any relationship between these affixes (prefixes, infixes and suffixes) of Austric and the initial intrusives *p-*, *t-* and *k-* of Dravidian shown above? The materials available at present unfortunately do not warrant any solution for this problem. If there had been any influence at all, it should have existed at a very early stage of Dravidian; for, the principle of prefixation is entirely foreign to *modern* Dravidian.

(ii) *Word-Correspondences*.<sup>1</sup>—The instances given below are, on the one side and the other, sufficiently common and widespread to be considered, at the first instance, as *permanently assimilated* in both families. No attempt is made here to discuss the etymologies or the question of the lender or borrower. It is possible that the resemblances in some cases may prove to be *purely fortuitous* as a result of further inquiry. The Austric list is compiled from the sources: *Pater Schmidt's Die Mon-Khmer Völker, Grundzüge der Phonetik der Mon-Khmer Sprachen, Grundzüge der Phonetik der Khasi-Sprache*, Rev. P. O. Bodding's *Materials for a Santali Grammar*, Prof. Sten Konow's volume on Mundā languages in LSI, Campbell's *Santali-English Dictionary*, Maspero's *Grammaire Khmère* and Brandstetter's Indonesian monographs.

(1) Dravidian *ir* (two): Khassi *ār*; Khm. *bīr*; Sant. *bār*.

(2) Tamil-Kannāḍa.—Tel. *eccam* (excrement): Sant. *aik*; Khm. *āc*; Mon. *ik*; Nicobarese *aik*.

(3) South Dravidian *kavvu* (to bite off with the mouth or teeth); Nic. *kōap*, Khm. *kiep*, etc.

(4) Dravidian *nāḱku*, *lāḱku* (tongue): Mon. *lāk*, etc.

(5) Dravidian *ari*, *ariṣi*, *vari*, etc. (rice, paddy): Nic. *arōe*, *aroṣ*; Sant. *horo*; Mon. *sro*; Khm. *srew*.

(6) Dravidian *kaḷavu*, *kaḷḷu*, etc. (base *kaḷ*): Nicob. *kolō-hana* (to steal); Mon. *klat*<sup>2</sup>; Khm. *luoc*, etc.

<sup>1</sup> In the word-lists given below, the Dravidian words are mostly those having cognates in more than one dialect; those found so far as we know, only in single dialects are described as such.

So far as the Austric forms are concerned, full forms (i.e., those having infixes and prefixes) as well as the bases (in some instances) are given. As the purpose of these lists is only to point out the correspondences in form and meaning, and not to indicate when or under what conditions or in which direction the borrowings took place, if it all, no attempt to detach the Dravidian or the Austric roots has been made.

<sup>2</sup> Let us observe here once again that the fact that the Austric radicals do not show direct resemblance to the Dravidian forms, does not stand in the way of the possibility of Austric having loaned out the prefixed or infixed forms to Dravidian; conversely, an early borrowing by Austric may, after assimilation of the word into the language, assume developed forms with prefixes and infixes also.

- (7) Dravidian *kūtsu*, *kūtū*, *ukkāru*, *okk* (to sit): Nicob. *koi*; Khm. *an-guy*; Bahnar *kuy* (to sit).
- (8) Dravidian *kai* (hand): Brāhūi *du* (hand); Melanesian *kai*<sup>1</sup> (hand); Khassi *tai* (hand); Mon. *tai*; Bahnar *ti*, etc.
- (9) South Dravidian *maḷe* (rain): Nicob. *amih*; Stieng *mi* (rain).
- (10) South Dravidian *viḷi* (eye): Kui *meh* (to see); Mon. *mat* (eye); Khasi *khy-mat*.
- (11) Dravidian *viḷarigu* (to shine), *paḷa-paḷa* (shiny): Bah. *pla*; Khm. *plö* (flame).
- (12) Dravidian *kala* (to mix): Nicob. *kaloawa* (to mix); Mon. *p-lai*; Stieng *lai*, etc.
- (13) South Dravidian *kaḷuttu* (neck): Mon. *kalon* (neck); Bahnar *halon* (head); Nicob. *ontona* (neck).
- (14) Dravidian *kuḷ* (to be cool), *kuḷam* (tank), *kuḷi* (to bathe): Nicob. *kolac* (to bathe).
- (15) Dravidian *vaḷ* (to be round): Khm. *k-r-wal* (ring); Nicob. *ka-wiḷa* (round); Stieng *vīl* (circle).
- (16) Dravidian *śuḍ* (to burn): Khmer *chur* (to catch fire); Stieng *sör* (to burn well).
- (17) Dravidian *āki* (leaf): Santāli *ak* (branch); Stieng *ak*.
- (18) Dravidian *ān*, *nān*, *cen* (I): Sant. *in*; Khm. *ān*; Bahnar *in*; Mon. *ai* (I).
- (19) Dravidian *eṛai* (to strew): Sant. *er*; Khasi *kyn-er*; Khm. *hi-er*; Bah. *hi-ar* (to disperse, etc.)
- (20) South Dravidian *kavvu* (to bite): Sant. *hap*, *cakap*; Stieng *kap*; Khm. *kāp*.
- (21) Dravidian *kattu* (tie): Sant. *gat* (knot); Khm. *gat* (to tie on).
- (22) South Dravidian *muḍi* (to end): Sant. *mucat* (to end).
- (23) Dravidian *kā*, *śā*, *cā* (to die): Mon. *khyūt*; Stieng *cot*; Bahn. *kocat* (to cease, die, etc.)
- (24) Dravidian *oḍai*; Br. *koting* (to break): Sant. *oṭec*, *koṭec* (to break); Khm. *tēc* (break); Bahn. *ko-tek* (to break), etc.
- (25) Dravidian *tai* (to stitch): Sant. *ten* (to weave); Mon. *ten*; Khm. *pan-tan*; Kha *tain*, etc.
- (26) Dravidian *niḷ* (to stand), *niruttu* (to make stand): Sant. *niṭ* (to fix).
- (27) Dravidian *pongu* (to rise): Sant. *pok-pok* (to swell); Mon. *puk*, etc.
- (28) Dravidian *par*, *pār* (to fly): Sant. *par* (to spread); Bah. *par* (to fly), etc.

<sup>1</sup> In the construction of the Austric root-forms, *Pater Schmidt* takes all the Austric words into consideration, while Brandstetter limits himself to his special sphere, Austronesian; the latter scholar, for instance, describes *Kam* as the *Wurzel* for Malayo-Polynesian *hand*, while Schmidt postulates *ti*.

It may be noted that Brandstetter is a little dubious about Schmidt's theories (pages 18 and 19 of *Wurzel und Wort in den IN-sprachen*).

- (29) Dravidian *vidai* (to sow), *virai* (seed): Sant. *bit* (to plant), *kir-bit*, *re-bet*, etc.; Bahnar *bet* (to pierce through).
- (30) Dravidian *vāy*, *bāy* (mouth): Sant. *bā* (mouth); Bah. *bör* (mouth); Austronesian *bābā*, *vāvā*, etc.
- (31) Tamil-Mal. *mušuru* (kind of ants): Sant. *muc*; Khm. *sra-moe*; Bahnar *h-moe*.
- (32) Dravidian *mūkku* (nose): Sant. *mū*; Mon. *mu*; Bahn. *muh*, etc.
- (33) Dravidian *er-ai* (to produce noise): Sant. *ru*; Mon. *kam-rau*; Kh. *ro*; St. *rou*, etc.
- (34) Dravidian *ī*, *īga*, *īcca*, *īśal* (fly): Austro-As. *yuē*, *ue*, *ro*, *ru-ai*, *ruī*, etc.
- (35) South Dravidian *irai* (to sprinkle): Sant. *arec*; Khm. *s-roe*.
- (36) Dravidian *vattu*, *vattu*, *var*, etc. (to be dried): Sant. *ha-vet* (dry) Khm. *s-wit* (dry), etc.
- (37) Dravidian *kal*, *śel*, *cel* (to go): Sant. *sen*; Bahn. *sen*.
- (38) Dravidian *kīr* (to tear): Austronesian *kir* (tear, strip, piece); Sant. *her* (to tear); Khm. *kier*, etc.
- (39) South Dravidian *tingal* (sun): Sant. *sin* (sun); Kh. *sni*; Mon *tnai*; Khm. *tnai*; Austronesian *sina* (sunlight), etc.
- (40) South Dravidian *aṅgi*, *taṅgai* (younger sister): Austronesian *aṅgi*, *aghi* (younger brother, sister).
- (41) Dravidian *paḷir*, *pīla* (to split, halve): Khm. *pek*; Kha. *pīa*, Austronesian *pek*, etc.
- (42) Tamil-Mal. *panai* (Borassus tree from which the malleable wood for making bows and arrows are made): Austronesian *panah* (bow), *pana*, *panu* (to shoot with the bow), *fana*, *pana* (to shoot); Austro-As. *pnoh*, *ponah*, *prōh*, etc.
- (43) Dravidian *mīśai* (beard), *maśir*, *mayir* (hair): Austrones. *ku-mis*, *gu-mi*, etc.; Austro-As. *ma-mis* (beard).
- (43A) Dravidian *kur-uḷu sur-uṭṭu* (to be rolled): Austrones. *kerut*, *ko-koru*, *koru*, etc.; Austro-As. *ruot*, *krut*, etc.
- (44) Tamil-Mal. *tarai*, *tadai* (to fix), *tallu* (to strike): Sant. *dal* (to strike); Austrones. *tady*, *tali*, *dalin*, etc.
- (45) Dravidian *vīl* (to sell): Austronesian *beli*, *weli*, etc.
- (46) Tamil *tūru*, *turu* (to drop as water): Austrones. *tu-turu* (to drop as water); *tir* (to drop), *p-ris* (to drop as rain).
- (47) Dravidian *tulai* (to cast off), *talḷu* (to push away): Austrones. *tulak*, *tolak* ("Zurückstossen", "verwerfen"); Khm. *tāk*; Sant. *ha-lāk*; (ruined).
- (48) Dravidian *pirakku*, *peruku*, *peska* (to pick, to choose): Austrones. *pili*, *ile*, *iri*, *pire* ("auswählen", "auslesen"); Stieng *pleh* ("sammeln Früchte vom Baum"); Mon. *lūh* ("loslosen").

- (49) South Dravidian *mannu* (to remain), *maṇṇu* (that which remains, earth, soil), Central Dravidian auxiliary *man*, *mèn*, *mand* (to exist, to be, to remain): Austro-As. *mēn* (to be) found in Santāli, Muṇḍari, Khasi, etc.
- (50) Dravidian *aḍak* (to press in): Sant. *aḍok* (to conceal behind).
- (51) Dravidian *odai* (to beat, to press): Sant. *ota* (to press).
- (52) South Dravidian *poi* (lie): Sant. Muṇḍ. *poi* (penalty).
- (53) Dravidian *muṅgu* (to be immersed): Indian Austric *umuk* (to bathe).
- (54) Dravidian *urai* (to speak): Indian Austric *ror*.
- (55) Dravidian *kida* (to lie down): Sant. *giṭic* (to lie down).
- (56) Dravidian *pēḍi*, *bōḍi*, etc. (fear): Sant. *bor* (fear).
- (57) Dravidian *toḍukku* (to tie): Sant. *tol*.
- (58) Dravidian *ir-aṅgu* (to go down): Sant. *ārgō*.
- (59) Tamil suffix—*kal* (if): Indian Austric *khan* (if).
- (60) Dravidian *kal* (stone); Kurukh *khel* (rice-field): Ind. Aus. *khet* (rice field).
- (61) Dravidian *ūr* (country, house, village); Br. *urā* (house); Kurukh *ur-bas* (master, lord): Austric *kura* (town, village), *orak* (house).
- (62) Dravidian *uri* (to flay): Sant. *ur* (to flay).
- (63) South Dravidian *tai* (to stitch): Kh. *thain* (to weave); Mon. *tān* (to stitch); Khmer *pan-tān* (to stitch).
- (64) Dravidian *kayai*, *kaṣai*, etc. (to be bitter): Kh. *ksan*; Khmer *hān*; Bahn. *han*; Stieng *hañ*.
- (65) Dravidian *æ*, *i*, *ā*, in *āvi* (steam), *i-yal* (shine), (*ñ*)-*æ-ir* (sun): Kh. *in* (to burn); Mon *cin* (to be well cooked), etc.
- (66) Dravidian *kūgu* (to shout): Mon. *kōk* (to call); Khm. *khuk* (to call aloud).
- (67) Dravidian *gāli*, *kāṭtru* (wind): Khm. *kjal*; Bahn. *khial*; St. *cal* (wind).
- (68) Dravidian *an*, *in*, *en* (to speak): Kh. *on*; Bahn. *añ* (to speak, to communicate news to).
- (69) Tam.-Mal. *ṣā-ppādu* (meal): Kh. *sa* (to eat); Mon. *ca*; Bahn. *sa*, etc.
- (70) Dravidian *koṇḍa*, *kundru*, *kundu*, *kunnu* (hill): Bahn. *kōn*, *gōn*, *an-koṇ* (hill, mountain).
- (71) Dravidian *paḷam* (fruit): Kh. *bhlek*; Khmer *phle*; St. *plei*; Palaung *ploē* (fruit).
- (72) Dravidian *pondu* (to rise, to swell): Austronesian *buntis* (with spontaneous nasal before *-t*, and with the *urbegriff* “*gēsehwollen*”, according to Brandstetter).
- (73) Dravidian *sūndu* (to show), *suṇḍi-viral* (finger): Austrones. *tū(n)du* (to show), *tōndu* (“*Zeigefinger*”).

# STUDIES IN BIRD-MYTHS, No. XXIX—ON A LUSHAI-KUKI ÆTIOLOGICAL MYTH ABOUT THE GREAT HORN-BILL.

BY PROF. SARAT CHANDRA MITRA, M.A., B.L.

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THE Horn-bills are a remarkable family of the bird-tribe, and are so named because of their prodigiously thick and long beaks. These birds are found in Assam, the submontane tracts of the Himalayas, the Tarai and various other parts of Northern India. One species, the Malabar Pied Horn-bill (*Hydrocissa coronata*, Bodd.) is found in the forest of Wynaad in Southern India. The most remarkable peculiarity of these birds is their voracious appetite, and they can eat with the greatest gusto, all kinds of food, animal and vegetable, including lizards, snakes, tortoises, birds and their eggs, fish, spiders, scorpions, insects, honeycomb and a variety of fruits and roots. In order that no disastrous consequences might arise from the satisfaction of such a fearful appetite, Nature has endowed them with the power of throwing up, free of all encumbrances, a portion of the lining membrane of their stomach, whenever necessary. This perhaps removes all possibility of ailment and consequent death.

Another noteworthy habit of these "Pigs of the Bird Class" is the remarkable facility with which they can field bunches of grapes and slices of bananas which might be thrown at them. A writer, who has carefully observed the habits of these birds which are kept in confinement in the Eastern Aviary of the London Zoological Gardens, says: "... They (the horn-bills) are, in fact, the most wonderful hands at fielding the grapes and slices of banana pitched at them by their keeper that it would be possible only to imagine. The performance once seen, is likely to be remembered, and the only animal I ever saw do neater fielding was an old female sea-lion in the Brighton Aquarium, which would catch pieces of fish hurled from some yards away, at the rate of about ten a minute. There are Rhinoceros-horn-bills and Ground-horn-bills, and one kind is as greedy as the other."<sup>1</sup>

The largest member of the Horn-bill family is the Great Horn-bill (*Dichoceros cavatus*, Shaw). It is found in the hill tracts of Assam and the Tarai as far as Garhwal. It is occasionally found in Darjeeling. Specimens

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<sup>1</sup> Vide "A Walk Through the Zoological Gardens", By F. G. Afalo. London: Sands & Co., 1900, pp. 143—144.

of this bird from this last-mentioned locality, as also from the Garhwal Tarai are preserved in the Lucknow Provincial Museum.<sup>1</sup>

Another name of this bird is *Dichoceros bicornis*. To the Nepalese, it is known as the *Homrai*; while the Assamese call it *Hivang*. It is commonly found in Assam, Cachar, Tipperah and the countries between Assam and Burma.

Like the other large Indian and Burmese horn-bills, this is a forest-loving bird and generally frequents lofty trees.

It appears never to come down to the ground. "Wherever it is found, it makes its presence known by the great noise produced by its wings in flying—a sound that may be often heard a mile away. Its flight is an alternation of a series of flappings of the wings and of sailing along with the wings motionless. But the flapping predominates and the flight is less undulating than in many horn-bills. Sometimes, this bird is found in pairs, more often in flocks of from five to twenty or more."

"Its food consists mainly of fruit; but insects and lizards are also eaten, as Tickell has shown. The fruit or other food, as with many other horn-bills, is tossed in the air and allowed to fall into the bird's throat."<sup>2</sup>

This bird is well-known to the Mongoloid tribes inhabiting the hill-tracts of Assam and Tipperah. They have observed the habit of the Great Horn-bills of flapping their outspread wings, which these people interpret to be a movement connected with these birds' dancing. For instance, the Langrongs, who are the Kukis inhabiting the Tipperah hills and are identical with the Rângkhôls, call this bird the Dhanesh bird and have recorded, in the following folk-song, their observation of the Great-Horn-bills' peculiar habit of flapping their outspread wings:—

"We shall all, being together, dance like the Dhanesh bird spreading (as it were) our wings, and become weary. Our mind is mad with joy. Like the flag over the Mokâmâ (a sacred building of the Mahomedans) our mind flutters and is mad with joy."<sup>3</sup>

But it is curious to note that there is current among the Lushai-kukis, an ætiological myth which accounts for the evolution, apparently of the Great-Horn-bill (*Dichoceros cavatus*, Shaw). These people, who are a Mongoloid race inhabiting the hilltracts of Assam, believe that the eclipse of the sun is caused by reason of the fact that a supernatural being named Awk devours the great luminary. They further state that on one occasion, this being

<sup>1</sup> *Catalogue of the Birds in the Provincial Museum, Lucknow*. Allahabad: North-Western Provinces and Oudh Government Press. 1890, p. 38.

<sup>2</sup> *Vide Fauna of India Series—Birds*, Vol. III. By W. T. Blanford, F.R.S., pp. 142—143.

<sup>3</sup> *Vide Grierson's Linguistic Survey of India*, Vol. III, Part III, p. 207.



devoured the sun so completely that a great darkness overshadowed the whole world. They called this terrible event the "Thimzing or the gathering of the darkness". During this fearful time a general transformation took place and men were metamorphosed into beasts and birds. *The Lushai-kuki chiefs of those days were transformed into horn-bills (most probably the Great-Horn-bills) whose huge beaks represent the bamboo rods used by their human forms for stirring their rice with.*<sup>1</sup>

This ætiological myth illustrates, in a striking manner, a trait of the savage mind which sees no difference between human beings and animals, which believes that animals can talk as well as men, and that men can readily transform themselves into beasts and birds, while the latter can easily change themselves into men. By inventing this ætiological myth, the Lushai-kukis, who are in a low plane of culture, have given expression to this trait of their savage mind.

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<sup>1</sup> *Vide The Lushai-kuki Clans*, By Lt.-Colonel J. Shakespeare. London : Macmillan & Co., 1912, p. 93.

# STUDIES IN PLANT-MYTHS, No. VII—ON A BENGALI MYTH ABOUT THE BETEL-CREEPER.

BY PROF. SARAT CHANDRA MITRA, M.A., B.L.

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THE betel-creeper (*Piper betle*, Lim.), which belongs to the Order *Piperaceæ*, is a perennial diœcious creeper, probably a native of Java. It is cultivated for its leaves in the hotter and damper regions of India and Ceylon. There are three varieties of the betel-creeper, namely, (1) *Bāṅglā* or country; (2) *Khas* known as *Sāṅchi Pān*; and (3) *Karpur Kāt* (or sweet betel). The cultivation of the last named variety is very limited. It has a very fine flavour and an odour like that of camphor.

The *pān* or betel-leaf acts as a gentle stimulant and exhilarant. According to the Hindu medical work entitled *Susruta*, it is aromatic, carminative, stimulant and astringent. The stalk of the betel-leaf, smeared with oil, is introduced into the rectum, in the constipation and tympanitis of children, with the object of inducing the bowels to act. The leaves are applied to the temples in headache for relieving pain, to painful and swollen glands for promoting absorption and to the mammary glands for the purpose of checking the secretion of milk. The warm juice of the betel-leaves is used as a febrifuge.

The chewing of the betel-leaves does promote health in the damp and miasmatic climate of this country. The juice of the leaves is dropped into the eyes in the painful affection of those organs.

It will appear from what has been stated above that the vernacular name of the betel-creeper is *Pān* which is believed to be a corruption of the Sanskrit word "Prāna" or "life". In some parts of Bengal, the under-mentioned myth is narrated to account for the origin of the name *Pān* of the betel-creeper.

Once upon a time, a prince went out on a hunting excursion. While leaving the palace he came across an aged ascetic who, with outstretched hands, requested him to supply him with a drink of water, as he was very thirsty. But the prince was in such a hurry that he did not pay any heed to the ascetic's request but, on the contrary, went away riding full-tilt. Being angry at the prince's heartless conduct, the ascetic pronounced upon him the curse that the latter would be lured away by the game that he would chase, and that, whenever he would touch water, it would dry up.

After going to the forest, the prince gave chase to a deer which ran into the inmost recesses of the jungle. He searched for it in vain and ultimately

gave it up for lost. In the course of a fruitless chase in the hot sun, he had become so thirsty that, being unable to ride any longer, he lay down under a tree. After resting for some time, he rose and proceeded in search of water. He came across a tank and, as soon as he bent down to drink water therefrom, the waters of the tank dried up. Then he went on and on and came to a river and as soon as he rode with his horse into the water, the river dried up. After crossing it, he arrived at a city called Kanakpur. As soon as the Rāja of this city heard of the prince's arrival in his city, he accorded him a right royal reception. While the Rāja and his Rāṇi were entertaining the prince at dinner, a glass of water which was held out to him to drink out of, soon became devoid of water. His thirst being unallayed, the prince's pangs became intolerable. Thereupon the Rāja had it proclaimed by beat of drum that, whoever would be able to allay the prince's thirst, he would reward him suitably.

Hearing this proclamation, an aged ascetic came and, at the Rāja's invitation, soon cured the prince of his unquenchable thirst in the following way :—He took out of his tattered bag a torn creeper, and, plucking off some of its leaves, gave the same to the prince to chew. As soon as he chewed the leaves and sucked the juice thereof, his thirst was assuaged completely.

As soon as the prince was cured of his unquenchable thirst, the Rāja gave his daughter in marriage to him and conferred a very large dowry upon him. Thereafter the prince and his newly-wedded wife went back to his own city. He took with him the creeper which the ascetic had given him. He had this creeper cultivated in his kingdom and informed his subjects that its name was "*Prāṇ*" or "*Life*" as its juice had restored him to life while he was almost dead with thirst. But his subjects corrupted this name of "*Prāṇ*" into "*Pān*" under which name this creeper is known at the present day.\*

If we carefully analyse this myth, we will find that the undermentioned moral lessons have been inculcated by it :—

- (1) That all acts of heartlessness must be rightly and properly punished.
- (2) That mercy should be shown to the wrong-doer after he has been properly punished.
- (3) That gratitude should be expressed by a person for all acts of benevolence done to him.

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\* *Vide* The Bengali Magazine entitled : *Sisu-Sāthi* for Magha 1335 B.S. (January—February 1929 A.D.), pp. 366-371.

## NOTES.

### A Note on Ponmaligai-t-tuñjina Deva.

BY SOMA SUNDARA DESIKAR, ESQ.

IN the last July number of this Journal, I identified Ponmaligai-t-tuñjina Dēva with Āditya Karikala II and relied on the inscriptions found at Tirupati as one of the reasons. That inscription says that Parantaka Devi Ammanār, daughter of Cēraman and wife of Ponmaligai-t-tuñjina Devar, gave some jewels to the Lord at Tirupati in the sixteenth year of Rajaraja I. Now, I find another evidence to confirm that theory. In an inscription at Tiruvidamarudur,<sup>1</sup> Tanjore District, it is stated that Pirantakan Devi Ammanar, daughter of Cēraman and the wife of Ponmāligai-t-tuñjina Devar purchased certain lands sold in public auction in the sixteenth year of Rajaraja I.<sup>2</sup> I came across another inscription also which I cannot lay my hands on at present. From the Tiruvidamarudur inscription, it is clear that the wife of Ponmāligai-t-tuñjina Deva lived up to the sixteenth year of Rajaraja I, that is to say, 985+16 or 1001 A.D. She was also a daughter of a Cēraman. If Ponmāligai-t-tuñjina Deva was identified with Parantaka II, this Pirantaka Devi Amman should have committed Sati with her husband so far back as 965 A.D. in which year Parantaka II was succeeded by his son Aditya II, that is to say, some 36 years back. One cannot resuscitate this Pirantakan Devi Ammanar after such a long time. Thus the statement that Pirantaka Devi Ammanar has to be taken as the name of the wife of Ponmaligai-t-tuñjina Deva who is identified with Aditya Karikala II, is confirmed.

### Birthplace of Tiruvenkatanatha.

BY SOMA SUNDARA DESIKAR, ESQ.

TIRUVENKATANATHAR was a minister of the Naik Kings of Madura. He was sent as viceroy to Tinnevely in or about 1683 A.D. during the reign of Ranga-Krishna Muthu Virappa Naicker and was there for a long period. He was a patron of Tamil and is said to be the author of the Tamil version of *Prabodha Chandrodaya*

<sup>1</sup> S.I.I., V. No. 723 ; Ins. No. 159 of 1895.

<sup>2</sup> திருமகள் போலப் பெருநிலச் செல்லியும் ..... ஸ்ரீ கோவிராஜ கெசரிபன் மர்க்குயாண்டு 16-வது ..... சபை டோமிதாய்க் கிடந்த நிலன்  $\frac{33}{40}$  முக்கா லேநா லுமாவரையும் லிலைத்துக் கொள்வாரிலை போ வென்று முற்கூற இம்மொழி கேட்டுப் பொன் மாளிகைத்துஞ்சின் தேவர் தேவிமாச் சேரமாணர் மகளார் பிராந்தகன் தேவியம்மனார் லிலை க்கு கொள்வேபிற்கூற ..... *ibid.*

called in Tamil *Maināna Viḷakkam*. Tradition has it that Tiruvārūr Vaidyanatha Dēśikar was his tutor in Tamil. His place of birth is said to be Māthai. Some identify this Māthai with Tiruvāmāttūr, a village near Villupuram in the South Arcot District. No direct evidence is adduced for this statement. Recently a writer has located this Māthai as Tiruvāmāttūr,<sup>1</sup> because the twin poets—blind and lame—have shortened Āmāthur into Māthai in *Tiruvāmāttūr Kalambagam*.<sup>2</sup> On the other hand the work *Prabodha Chandrodayam* of the viceroy gives clear proof that he was born on the banks of the Cauvery. In the introductory chapter of the work it is said in stanza 3 that this liberal chief was born at Māthai<sup>3</sup> and the second stanza says that this town was a fortified one in Chōḷanād watered by the Cauvery.<sup>4</sup> The introduction further traces his ancestor and also the post held by him at that time. There is a village called Māthai, south of the Cauvery which still goes under the name of Mānthai and we have no reason to doubt this statement. Thus the birthplace of Tiruvenkatanatha, the viceroy, has to be located in Tanjore and not in the South Arcot District.

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<sup>1</sup> *J.O.R.S.*, II, p. 35.

<sup>2</sup> மேதிக்குலஞ் சோரிபால் கயன்மாந்தும் விரைப்பழன் மாதைக்கபவுள்.

<sup>3</sup> மழைக்கு லந்தவழ் நெடுமகின் மாதைக்கு மன்னன்.

<sup>4</sup> பொன்னி மாநதி புடைபரந் தோங்கலிற் புதுப்பூங்  
கன்னி வாழையுங் தாழையுங் காய்க்தவலக் கமுதம்  
பின்னி நீள்க்திர்ச் செந்நெலுங் கன்னலும் பிறவு  
மன்னி நீடிய வளவர் சோனாட் டொருவள்ளல்

## REVIEWS.

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### Mysore Archæological Report, 1928.

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WE desire to congratulate Dr. M. H. Krishna Iyengar on the Report of a year's excellent work. Our thanks are due to the Government for having provided funds for the preliminary work of excavation on the ancient and historic site of Chandravalli near Chitaldroog. Dr. Krishna Iyengar has already drawn the attention of scholars to the most interesting and valuable finds, particularly, coins belonging to the Satavahana and later dynasties. We trust the generosity of the Mysore Government will be further rewarded by discoveries of still greater importance, illuminating the history of this ancient period. In the course of his account, Dr. Krishna Iyengar has been able to confirm the Satavahana and the Chutu rule over Mysore on the basis of the Chandravalli finds and linguistic tests. In fourteen paragraphs, he says that from B.C. 250 to A.D. 550, Prakrit, the spoken language of the Satavahanas and their successors, the Chutus and the Kadambas, was the Court language in the Karnata country and that during that period, a number of Prakrit words found their way to the vernacular of the country. Kannada became the official language under the Chalukyas in the sixth century A.D.; and these explain the contribution of Prakrit and Sanskrit for the growth of the Kannada language and literature. Of the noteworthy monuments discovered during the year may be mentioned two temples of exquisite Hoysala workmanship in the heart of a forest near Nadukalsi in the Sagar Taluk. They are described as first class monuments, and are said to be in a very good state of preservation, though built about 1218 by a king of Kodanad and Kundanad. A number of monuments have been brought under the Act for the preservation of monuments. Two matters connected with the Sringeri Mutt deserve attention. Of these the "Sringeri Mutt and its Gurus" is a very readable account taken from a biographical work of the eighteenth century to which we hope to advert separately in another paper. The other relates to the outbreak of a war between the Keladi and Kalasa chiefs in the course of which the latter looted the Mutt (see pages 18-19). The photographs are excellent, the Report is got up much better than in the previous years and the appendix containing the list of inscriptions published in the Report arranged according to dynasties and dates, is very useful to the student of archæology. Yet it may be permissible to suggest that below each inscription the giving of date and dynasty will make reference work more easy to students of research. Further, the dates of the inscriptions may be correctly worked out and given in tabular form separately.

S. S.

## Beginnings of Vijayanagara History.

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(Ananda Press, Anand.)

FATHER HERAS, Professor of Indian History in St. Xavier's College, Bombay, is also director of the Indian Historical Research Institute. No. 4 in the *Studies in Indian History* of that Institute is the work under review, being the substance of two extension lectures delivered at the University of Mysore during the Dasara season in 1928. The author who is a keen student of Vijayanagara history is noted for his deep scholarship and prodigious industry which are also to be found on every page of this work. The part played, according to tradition, by Vidyaranya in the foundation of the Vijayanagara empire does not commend itself to Father Heras. He is of opinion that the Vidyaranya tradition was got up by the ascetic Gurus of the Sringeri Mutt during the period of the second dynasty in Vijayanagara. Hence he concludes that the inscriptions referring to this incident are forgeries for which Ramachandra Bharati Swami and others must be held responsible. To this we emphatically enter our protest.

The rest of the work is concerned with the part played by Sangama and his successors in the defence of the Hoysala Empire and the relationship between the Hoysalas and the sons of Sangama politically and otherwise. Inasmuch as it is seriously contended by others that the Hoysalas had nothing to do with the foundation of the Vijayanagara empire and since the whole subject of the Hindu effort in stemming the tide of Muhammadan aggression in the South about this time as well as the part played by Vidyaranya therein forms part of a paper to be read before the Mythic Society very soon, we refrain from further comment here.

S. S.

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## The Origin of the Buddha Image.

DR. A. K. COOMARASWAMY.

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DR. A. K. COOMARASWAMY is a recognised authority on Indian art. In this thesis he opposes the common views of the Anglo-Indian historians that image worship in India was first initiated by the Gandhara School, and then it spread all over India by the natural process of imitation. The learned author traces the early history of iconic worship in India, long before the Hellenistic School lost its stage of popularity as revealed in Barhūt and Sānchi stupas, as well as by the Parkham and Patna statues. Before the ascendancy of Buddhism, Yaksha and Nāga images were adored, and it was an easy and natural transition to transform the worship of the popular images into Jaina and Buddhist icons. While admitting the Gandhara influence only to a limited extent, Dr. Coomaraswamy has ably maintained that Mathura and Amarāvati were pure products of indigenous talent, maintaining an organic and unbroken continuity

with their distant predecessors. The argument has been quite vigorous and convincing being amply seconded by plentiful illustrations. No student of Indian Art can afford failing to read such an interesting book.

B. V. R.

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## Annual Report of the South Indian Epigraphy, 1926-27.

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DURING the year under report further excavations were carried on at Nagarjunikonda, which resulted in plentiful yield of Buddhist remains such as Chaityas, Viharas, Stupas and twenty-two Inscriptions in Brahmi throwing additional light on the hitherto obscure Ikshvaku dynasty which claims the Buddha as a member of their clan.

From among the Chola Inscriptions, reference might be made to the existence of Samādhis, Temples or Pallippadais, built over the tombs of the departed ones, and the customs of offering worship to their portrait statues. Sūryanārkoil in the Tanjore District is unique in its possession of the only Sun Temple in Southern India where Sūrya, Chhāyā Dēvī and Ushā are worshipped. The shrine owes its existence to Kulottunga who seems to have been influenced by the Gahadwad rulers of Kanouj who were sun-worshippers.

Srivilliputtur in Ramnad District has yielded quite a good number of epigraphs relating to the Pandyan rulers, which bring up their history as far as 1613 A.D. Incidentally they make mention of trading corporations, Muslim and Hindu, flourishing in these parts.

The inscriptions of Tanjore Nayaks have revealed to us the name of their famous Brahman Pradhan, Govinda Dikshita, a native of Mysore by birth, who combined in himself rare administrative genius and deep erudition, as the author of *Harivamsasāra*, a *Kavya* and *Sangīta Sudhānidhi*, a work on music.

It is sincerely regretted that this is the last report to be issued by Mr. G. Vencoba Rao who since died shortly after his retirement.

B. V. R.

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## Bas-Reliefs of Badami.

(*Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India No. 25.*)

BY R. D. BANNERJI, ESQ.

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THE cave temples of India have been generally associated with Buddhist religion and mythology. Non-Buddhist cave temples have remained unknown except to a few. The public will, therefore, feel thankful for the beautiful volume, giving an exhaustive description of some of the finest specimens of Vaishnavite sculptures, in relief and round, belonging to the period of the latter half of the sixth century A.D. Cave No. I contains the relief figures of Natarāja, Ardhanārīswara and Mahishāsura-mardini. The rest of the caves are mainly



devoted to the delineation of Vaishnavite mythology. Lively and majestic figures of Narasimha, Varāha, Trivikrama and Krishna are to be found—splendid examples of Indian skill in sculpture and carving. The volume is well illustrated, quite in keeping with the usual excellence of the Archæological Reports of the Government of India.

B. V. R.

## Annual Reports of the Archæological Department of H. E. H. The Nizam's Dominions.

TWO VOLUMES FOR THE YEARS 1926 AND 1927.

THE report of the year 1925-26 is devoted to the description of the Moslem buildings of Gulburga and Warangal, and the three-fold influences that were brought to bear on the composition or construction of those buildings. The earliest Moslem architects were naturally immigrants from Delhi and the Deccan buildings show traces of the Tughlak architecture. But this North Indian influence could not continue long under the Bahmani Sultans, rebels as they were against Delhi, who imported men directly from Turkey who consequently reproduced in the Deccan replicas of Byzantine churches or Roman basilicas. This stream of recruitment also dried up and later styles show the strong influence of the Hindu craftsman "who brought with him a free fancy and love of decoration" as in the tombs of Firoz Shah (1397-1422) and in Afzal Khan's mosque.

The famous caves of Ellora were in a parlous condition and received the necessary repairs and buttressing up.

The volume for the year 1926-27 contains an account of the Hindu temples of rarest beauty found in Pillalmari and Nāgalpad in the Nalgonda District. They have been described in the report as "veritable gems of mediæval Deccan architecture". The Someswar temple of Pillalmari is star-shaped in plan, with polished pillars "the delicacy and richness of whose carving beggars all description". It bears on it the inscription of Kakateya kings. The shikaras of the temples of Ālampur display striking resemblance to Pattadakal and Bhuvaneswar, while their inner plan and decoration recall the rock-cut cave temples of western India. Beautiful photographs of these architectural gems have also been reproduced (Pl. V to XIII).

The enlightened Government of H. E. H. the Nizam deserves to be congratulated for their laudable attempts to preserve for posterity the frescoes of Ajanta; by having them colour-photographed and published by the Oxford University Press, though at a great cost.

## The Inscriptions of Nagai.

HYDERABAD ARCHAEOLOGICAL SERIES No. 8.

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THE readers of this *Journal* will be familiar with an article published in this *Journal*, entitled "A Twelfth Century University in Mysore". Similar epigraphs of educational interest have been deciphered in Nagai, an ancient village near Wadi junction. They belong to the time of the later Chalukyas, Trailokyamalla (1042-68 A.D.), Tribhuvanamalla (1076-1126 A.D.), and Jagadekamalla (1131-49 A.D.). These kings and their subordinates are revealed as great patrons of learning. They made generous provisions for boarding and clothing of several hundreds of students and their teachers as well as a well-equipped library, under several librarians, attached to every institution.

"The residential system" is not "strange" as the G. O. on the report would have it; on the contrary, it was a common and essential feature of our Hindu system of education in which the pupils lived together with their masters, for better influence and better teaching. Hence agrahars were founded by Hindu rulers to afford board and lodging to the pupils and teachers, and temples were endowed but to serve as cloisters for study and discussion by those students.

Altogether, the volume is quite interesting and valuable to students of ancient Hindu culture.

R.

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## Source Book of Maratha History, Vol. I.

BY R. B. PATWARDHAN, ESQ., AND H. G. RAWLINSON, ESQ.  
BOMBAY GOVERNMENT PRESS.

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NO study of history is said to be satisfactory unless it is based upon a knowledge of the original sources. Advocates of history claim on its behalf that it can also train its votaries in critical outlook and reasoned judgment, no less than science. What Stubbs, Gardiner and a host of others have accomplished in the field of British history is yet a far-off ideal for the history of India, though Rajwade, Parasnis, Sardesai and others have done yeoman work at least in the department of Maratha history. But the work of these Maratha historians lies embedded in bulky volumes in the Marathi language.

Hence we sincerely welcome this handy collection of the sources of Maratha history in English covering the reign of Shivaji only. The names of the editors is a guarantee of good judgment and we are confident even critics of Rawlinson's Shivaji will agree with this view. The first part contains extracts from Marathi *bakhars* and the second part is devoted to European eye-witnesses generally. One feels that the latter part had been more exhaustive than the earlier one wherein we wish that some more extracts had been given, especially those concerning the relation between Shivaji and Ram Das, and also extracts regarding the administrative arrangements of Shivaji.

Yet this book of documents is quite opportune and most welcome to us, suffering as we are from dearth of such books which will engender among our pupils the habit of critical scholarship and a love for history.

B. V. R.

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### Shivaji's Escape from Agra.

BY RAO SAHEB G. K. *alias* BABA SAHEB DESHPANDE.

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NO hero of recent years has stirred the pride and imagination of the Indian so much as Shivaji. The Maratha warrior has shown, as Prof. Sarkar observed, that India can produce not only Jamedars and Chitnis (clerks) but also a *chatrapati*. As such, the life-story of Shivaji will always offer ever-fresh facets of study for his countrymen. His life was a combination of romantic episodes and hair-breadth escapes; and his journey to Agra was the most venturesome of his exploits. Rao Saheb G. K. has chosen to narrate this thrilling episode. No doubt, the author has brought to his task great enthusiasm and industry as well as wide learning. The story is unravelled quite in a rousing vein.

While welcoming such biographies of our national heroes, it is necessary to confess that the book leaves much to be desired. The volume has been unnecessarily enlarged in bulk by needless repetitions, forewords, introduction and preface. The forty-six pages of extracts could as well have been placed in the second part of the book solely devoted to the "Sources of Maratha History". Shivaji's long letter to Jai Sing is given both in the text and in the appendix. The style could have been more terse and less homely. Besides the absence of a cultivated style, a few spelling errors also have crept in (pp. 115, 117). We are quite hopeful that in the subsequent edition the book will undergo the necessary revision and pruning.

But the book is well got up, neatly printed and bound with numerous illustrations of the contemporaries of Shivaji Chatrapati Maharaj.

B. V. R.

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### Zoroastrian Religion and Customs.

BY S. D. BHARUCHA.

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WE welcome with pleasure the third and enlarged edition of an authoritative book on the teachings of Zarathustra. About the teaching of the Parsee Prophet we can only echo the statement of Tagore that His is a supremely ethical religion, unencumbered by superstitions of astrology or the incubus of Karma. Ahura Mazda pardons every sinner at the time of judgment. Its pragmatic value is emphasised and enforced by insistence on toil by everyone and a life of social service for all.

But it would be difficult to concede the claims of the author that Mazdaism is older than the Vedas. The very height of moral tone maintained by Zoraster bespeaks a later stage of evolution. The reason for the mortal enmity between the followers of Indra, a Deva and Mazda, an Abura (Ašura) also calls for further investigation.

We conclude that Zarathustra has pre-eminent claim to be heard in this age of doubt and confusion, clash of communities and sects.

B. V. R.

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### The Outlines of the Vedanta.

BY DR. M. SRINIVASA RAO, M.A., M.D., ETC.

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IT is gratifying to note that Dr. Srinivasa Rao, a distinguished medical man, has found time to continue his study of these abstruse subjects and placed the results of his work at the disposal of the public.

The book expounds the principles of Advaita philosophy according to Sri Sankaracharaya, based on his exquisite and soul-stirring Dakshinamoorthy Stotra. The original Stotra is given in Sanskrit with an English translation. Then follows an able exposition of the basic ideas underlying every one of the Ten Slokas. The main thesis is further reinforced with parallel thoughts in western philosophy. We sincerely congratulate the Doctor on his achievement.

We do not know whether it is, after all, necessary to say that the connotation of the term "Vedanta" is the monism of Sankara, for, as observed by Sir R. G. Bhandarkar, the Upanishads and Brahma Sutras can be said with equal reason to support the schools of Visishtadwaita and Dwaita.

B. V. R.

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### The Religion of Asoka.

BY DR. B. M. BARUA, M.A., D.Litt, ETC.

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THIS pamphlet controverts the views of Rev. Heras that Asoka was a Hindu monarch. This idea is as old as the late H. H. Wilson's days; the author, however, claims to support himself on the words of Asoka himself. The inscriptions at Rummindei and Nigāli-Sagar as well as the Rupnath Rock Edict could have been engraved only by a devout Buddhist. The Bhabru Edict is relied on as a clear confession of Asoka's faith in the 'Three Jewels of Buddhism'.

B. V. R.

## The Mysore Castes and Tribes, Vol. II.

BY THE LATE MR. H. V. NANJUNDAYYA, M.A. M.L. C.I.E., AND  
RAO BAHADUR L. K. ANANTAKRISHNA IYER, B.A., L.T.

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AN exhaustive account of the tribes and castes of Mysore has been a desideratum. Nearly a generation ago the late Mr. H. V. Nanjundayya essayed to meet this want and published a large number of pamphlets containing an account of various castes but had to give up owing to the exigencies of his busy official life. Now the Mysore University has commissioned Rao Bahadur L. K. Anantakrishna Iyer to edit the MSS left by Mr. Nanjundayya and also to undertake a complete ethnographic survey of the State ; and no better person could have been called upon to undertake the mission. The Rao Bahadur is well known to the readers of this *Journal* for his able and scholarly writings on South Indian tribes. The book under review has fully justified the choice. It describes all the castes and tribes coming only under the first two letters of the Alphabet, A and B, and yet has run to five hundred and sixty pages of matter.

But, strange to say, the book before us which is Vol. II, is published without the usual preface giving the plan and aim of the author. Nor are we enlightened as to what will be the contents of Vol. I which is yet to come. We are also constrained to note that the section dealing with the Madhvas is very cursory and somewhat unfair to one of the three great Acharyas. No account of the list of the Madhya pontiffs is found, while the same is given for every conceivable sect under description, nor is any mention made of the scholar-saints, like Sri Vyasa Raya Muni Raghavendra Tirtha and Purandar Das, Kanaka Das, a few among a host. We fail also often to trace authorities for extracts given in the book ; to wit, on pages 442, 450, 459 and pages 83, 398, 419.

The space devoted to each subject generally more or less corresponds with the importance of the community or caste concerned in the general economy of the state as well as to the literature and facts available regarding the same.

Barring these remarks, we sincerely congratulate the author as well as the authorities of the Mysore University for taking on hand a survey of the Mysore castes and tribes. We eagerly expect further studies in the same and kindred subjects.

B. V. R.

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## Karnataka Kavi Charite or Lives of Kannada Poets, Vol. III.

BY RAO BAHADUR R. A. NARASIMHACHAR, ESQ., M.A., M.R.A.S.

Sri Lakshminarasimha Press, Bangalore. Price Rs. 4.

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THE Mysore University Publication of this book by Mr. R. A. Narasimhachar deserves to be in the hands of every lover of the Kannada language and of every one who wants to know something of the history of Kannada literature. The third volume is not merely an account of the authors belonging to the eighteenth and nineteenth

centuries but contains an up-to-date introduction both in Kannada and in English on the Dravidian languages with particular reference to the language of the Mysore country. Details based on fresh material available have been given, and Mr. Narasimhachar has not neglected the bearing of the recent discoveries of an ancient civilisation in Harappa and Mohanjo-Daro. Besides, the criticisms offered on the earlier volumes in the series are fully dealt with by the author. Of these, we regret to say, one is of a somewhat personal nature regarding morality in authorship. In fairness to Mr. Narasimhachar, we must appeal to the public to accept his statement on p. XLI to the full and leave it at that. The others relate to the date of certain authors or their works. A few outstanding features to which Mr. Narasimhachar has been time and again invited to give a little attention have unfortunately not been dealt with in the introduction before us. The first is about the visit of Chandragupta Maurya and Bhadrabahu Srutakevali to Sravana-belagola and we should like to hear more about it. The other is about the Kannada (?) passages in a Greek farce of the second century A.D. The only scholar who can speak with authority on the subject is he with an equally profound scholarship in all the Dravidian and Sanscrit and other languages with which the unknown passages in the farce have anything to do. Much as we appreciate the work of putting together our knowledge of the Kannada poets and giving extracts from their works, still more remains to be done. A readable, popular and literary book in English on the history of Kannada literature, like the one that Mr. E. P. Rice has published, is essential. Further, the social and political life of the various periods of Mysore history as can be gleaned from these will be of incalculable importance. A chronology of poets or authors, with a few dates and extracts, while serving a purpose of its own, will not be attractive to the ordinary reader. These are things which, perhaps, under Mr. Narasimhachar's guidance, the University has to get done by the more youthful of its alumni. With them and with histories of the Kannada kingdoms that ruled in this ancient land, we shall have a treasure-house of knowledge of which, more than anyone else, Mr. Narasimhachar will be proud.

For a University publication, the get-up and print should have been very much better. The selection of authors does not appear to have been based on any principle; every available name seems to have been included.

The book is dedicated to His Highness the Maharaja, the successor of Viraballala, the Hoysala Emperor and a devout Hindu who has been maintaining the dharma of the ancient Hindu religion unsullied in a long line of continuity from his predecessors.

S. S.

## The Golden Verses of the Pythagoreans.

BY THE EDITORS, *Shrine of Wisdom*, LONDON.

Price 2 *sh.* net.

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PYTHAGORAS, the Trainer of Souls, was one of the celebrated Greek philosophers, who is said to have visited India, in the course of his travels in pursuit of learning, and to study the wisdom of the East. The ideal community of the great brotherhood which he founded has left an enduring influence in the world and the Pythagorean system 'contains the quintessence of all the elements necessary for living the truly religious, philosophical and mystical life, leading straight into the Divine. The Song of Songs, Polonius's advice to his son and other well-known sayings, more or less in the manner of Pythagoras, continue to teach the world into high thinking and right living. But the Golden Verses of the Pythagoreans, by whomsoever composed as a matter of fact, still hold the field and excite the admiration of the world. The editors of the *Shrine of Wisdom*, London, are responsible for a fine and moving translation of these verses. The introduction and commentary to these verses are quite in keeping with the high ideals set forth in the text. It is a very handy and excellently got-up book that must be in the hands of all. The price is very cheap, only two shillings net.

S. S.

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## Rajyanga Paddhati (The Indian Constitution).

BY M. A. GOPALASWAMY IYENGAR, ESQ., M.A., B.L.

Caxton Press, Bangalore City.

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THIS little brochure in Kannada on the present Indian Constitution is not interlarded with learned disquisitions or unintelligible technical expressions. Its chief merit lies in its praiseworthy attempt to describe the Government of India and the various provincial governments in connection with executive administration, the work of legislation, and the administration of justice in their every-day working. A chapter relates to the Secretary of State for India and his Council and the last chapter is devoted to the Indian States. We congratulate the author on the success which has attended his efforts.

S. S.

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## Kampili and Vijayanagara.

BY N. VENKATA RAMANAYYA, ESQ., M.A., Ph.D.

Christian Literature Society, Madras.

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THE author has put in book form two articles on Kampili and Vijayanagara which appeared in the *Christian College Magazine* recently. Mr. M. H. Ramasarma has contributed to the pages of the *Q.J.M.S.* a series of articles on this subject based on original sources. The information contained therein and in this brochure will be very valuable to the students of Vijayanagara History. The conclusions arrived at by the author cannot be dealt with in a summary review and I intend to deal with them separately. The book is appropriately inscribed to Rev. F. E. Corley, the distinguished Professor of the Madras Christian College.

S. S.

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## IMPORTANT NOTE.

[Dr. Leo Frobenius, President of the Historical Research Institute of Frankfurt-on-Main in Germany who was recently with us in the course of his tour in Southern India and who is now in Ceylon on his way to the Further East visited the Mythic Society on the 18th of November 1929. The Doctor appreciated very much the work that the Mythic Society has been doing in promoting Oriental Research, and showed keen interest in the books of the Library. He put a number of interesting questions relating to Mysore and Southern India to the General Secretary Mr. S. Srikantaiya, in order to obtain information for a comparative study of Africa and South India and agreed to send his queries for publication in this Journal, of which the following is the first instalment. The Editor will be glad to receive replies to them from the readers.]

OOTACAMUND,

4th December 1929.

DEAR SIR,

You have had the great kindness to receive us in the Mythic Society on the 18th of November and to promise me your friendly help in the solution of the problems which brought me to India. You asked me to put my questions in the form of a letter. I am enclosing a set of questions. You and the Mythic Society would make me very happy and contribute substantially to the results of my work, if it would be possible for you or your readers to furnish me with answers for one or more of the questions. I thank you cordially in advance. My address for some time to come will be "German Consulate, Colombo". I thank you once more for the gift of several papers. I will order out for you from Frankfurt a few books that are just being printed in English.

I am yours, thankfully and truly,

(Sd.) LEO FROBENIUS.

### QUESTIONS.

1. What popular tales are circulating with regard to the phases of the Moon and his occasional darkness and his influence upon the fate of human beings; and what, according to Hindu shastras, is the sex of the Moon?

2. What popular tales are circulating concerning Venus, his diversity as evening and morning star and his influence upon the fate of human beings? What again is his sex?

3. Dr. M. H. Krishna Iyengar drew my attention to several *mastikals* (near Kikkeri) on which hand and arm of the widow were represented. Is this form to be found elsewhere and if so, would it be possible to get illustrations and short notes of them?

4. I should be very thankful if I could get drawings of the different forms of coloured marks on the forehead of the Vishnu and Siva worshippers.

5. As I am told, are the dynasties of Indian Princes to-day, divided into two groups, one of which is considered as the race of the Moon and the other as that of the Sun? Do marriages take place between the two races or not; and do marriages take place where both the bride and the bridegroom belong to the same race or is it prohibited? I would be thankful for an enumeration of those dynasties of Princes, the fact whether they belong to one or both the groups being noted.

6. Does there exist relationship between the two races and are they divided into Vishnu and Siva worshippers?

7. Could I get particulars about the Kalesha Urns filled with water and covered with the half of a cocoanut shell? Are the worshipped deities not asked to take a seat therein?

## Books received during the Quarter ending 31st December 1929.

### Presented by:—

#### The Authors—

1. The Mystery and Mental Atmosphere by Sir Richard Carnac Temple, Kt.
2. Tamil Words in English Language by M. S. Ramaswami Aiyar.

#### The Smithsonian Institution, Washington, U. S. A.—

Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections, Vol. 81, No. 12: Archæological Investigations in the Taos Valley, New Mexico during 1920, by J. A. Jeançon.

#### The Government of Bombay—

Source Book of Maratha History, Vol. I (to the Death of Shivaji), by R. P. Patavardhan & H. G. Rawlinson.

#### The Government of Mysore—

1. Proceedings of the Mysore Representative Assembly (Budget Session); June 1929.
- 2 to 11. Annual Reports of the Archæological Survey of Mysore, 1900—01; 1902; 1903; 1904; 1904-05; 1905-06; 1906-07; 1908; 1909-10; 1912-13.

*Rajakaryaprasakta Rao Bahadur*

#### M. Shama Rao, Esq., M.A., President of the Society—

Correspondence Relating to the Re-Establishment of a Native Government in Mysore.

#### The Curator, Oriental Library, Mysore—

Oriental Library Publications: Sanskrit Series No. 72: The Alankāra Manihāra by Sri Krishna-Brahmatantra Parakālaswamin, Part IV.

#### The Dacca University—

1. Convocation Speeches, 1929.
2. Speeches at the Laying of the Foundation-Stone of the Salimullah Muslim Hall, Dacca.

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Madras University Historical Series, No. 4: Hindu Administrative Institutions by V. R. Ramachandra Dikshitar.

#### The Hon'ble The British Resident in Mysore—

- 1 to 15. Administration Reports of the Civil and Military Station of Bangalore for the years: 1913-14; 1914-15; 1915-16; 1916-17; 1917-18;

1918-19; 1919-20; 1920-21; 1921-22; 1922-23; 1923-24; 1924-25;  
1925-26; 1926-27; 1927-28.

**The Government of Travancore—**

Travancore Archaeological Series, Vol. VI, Part II: Stone and Copper-Plate Inscriptions by A. S. Ramanatha Ayyar.

**By Purchase—**

1. The Expansion of Europe by Wilbur Cortez Abbott.
  2. The Constitutional History of England by F. W. Maitland.
  3. Southern India: its History, People, Commerce and Industrial Resources by Somerset Playne.
-

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K. Matthan, Bangalore	.. ..	5	0	0
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2. "INDIAN ANTIQUARY," *British India Press, Mazagaon, Bombay.*
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5. "WEDNESDAY REVIEW," *Teppakulam, Trichinopoly.*
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13. "THE JOURNAL OF THE AMERICAN ORIENTAL SOCIETY,"  
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16. "MAN," *The Royal Anthropological Institute, London.*
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87. THE K. R. CAMA ORIENTAL INSTITUTE,  
*172, Hornby Road, Fort, Bombay.*
88. ASSOCIATION FRANÇAISE DES AMIS DE L'ORIENT,  
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93. MADRAS GEOGRAPHICAL ASSOCIATION, *Gopalapuram, Cathedral  
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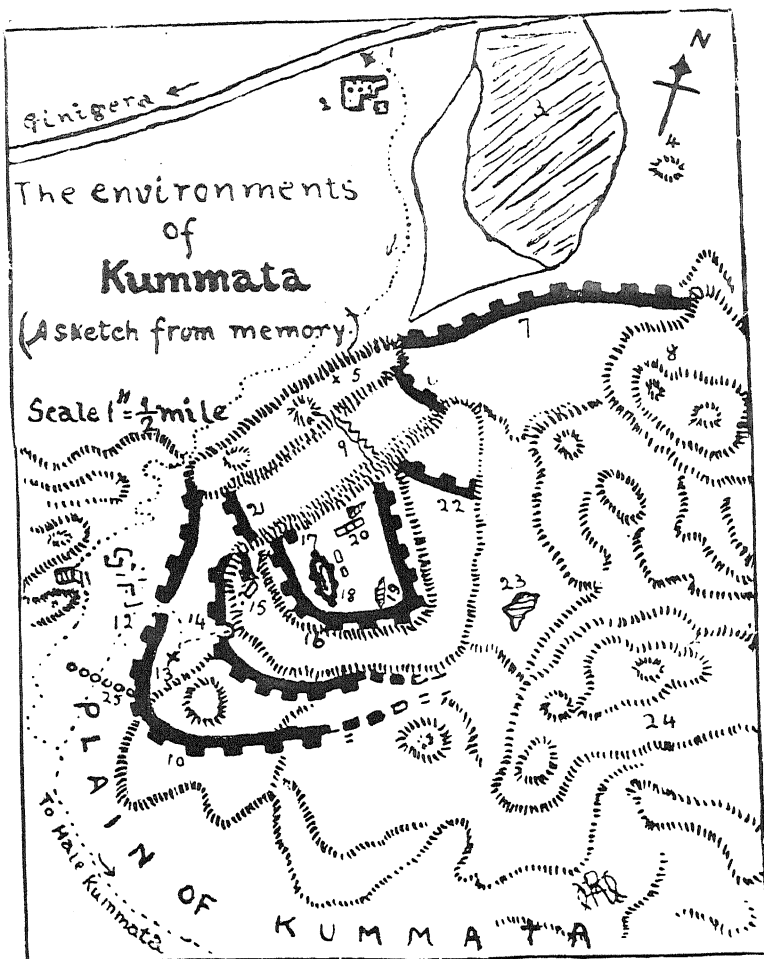
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1. Travellers' Bungalow. 2. Mukkumpi Village. 3. Mukkumpi Tank.
4. Papasu Gudda. 5. Madiga Hampayyana Gudda and Jenkal. 6. Part of Fort Wall. 7. Tank Bank Fort Line. 8. Hanumanta Devara Gudda.
9. The Ridge and Kumara-Ramana Kanive. 10. The Outer Fort Wall of Hosa Kummata. 11. The Halubhavi (Pond). 12. The Ruins of Hosa Kummata. 13. Kumara-Rama's Image. 14. Hulibagilu. 15. The Elephants' Stables. 16. Kumara-Ramana Durga. 17. Jatangi Rameswara Temple.
18. The Citadel. 19. Ramana Done (Pond). 20. The Jain Temple. 21. Part of Fort Wall. 22. Part of Fort Wall. 23. Bollana Kere (Tank).
24. Katappana Gudda. 25. Kudure Kallu.

# The Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society

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Vol. XX]

APRIL, 1930

[No. 4

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## VESTIGES OF KUMMATA.\*

BY M. H. RAMA SHARMA, ESQ., M.R.A.S.

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EVER since its identification with Nuniz's Crynamata,† Kummata has assumed no small historic importance. This is as much on account of its probable connection with the beginnings of Vijayanagara as for its own unrivalled romantic associations. This place, about six miles from Anegondi, is easier of access from Ginigera, a railway station between Hospet and Kopbal, on the Guntakal-Hubli line. From this place, a motor journey by bus or private car takes us to Mukkumpe,‡ a village twelve miles distant, close by the Gangavati road.

### Topography.

At first, as we ride across an open country of farms and fields, the "rugged hills" in the distance do not attract much of our attention. But, after the third mile, we are arrested by a changing landscape, which, as the ground gets rapidly covered with jungle and brushwood, becomes more and more uneven. Beyond Budigumpe, about half way from our destination, it becomes rugged and even desolate. Rock after rock, ridge behind ridge, touching some and passing all, we soon find ourselves in the midst of a

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\* This place was visited by the writer in the middle of December 1929.

† See my article on "The Identification of Nuniz's Crynamata" in the *Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society* for July 1929, page 5, Vol. XX.

‡ Visitors can arrange for good accommodation in the travellers' bungalow.

number of savage hills of all forms and sizes. Though spurs of the same Anegondi range, there is neither beauty nor plan about their formation. Grouped or scattered in a fantastic way, jagged in outline, their sides devoid of all vegetation and piled up with myriads of loose, tumbling stones, they serve more to emphasize the inhospitable nature of their interior than to stimulate any pleasurable sensation in the visitor. Thus we arrive close to the "rugged hills", on the verge of which Mukkumpe is situated, as a sort of sentinel guarding the approaches to Kummata on this side. According to local observation, the hills in this neighbourhood are classified as *Ēlugudda* or the "Seven Hills". These are Basaḷe-Kallappana-gudda,\* Nichchanige-gudda, Khilleda-gudda, Bande-gudda, Hanumanta-dēvara-gudda, Mâdigara Hampayyana-gudda and Kumâra-Râmana-gudda. They lie close to each other in the form of an irregular circle with at least half a dozen passes between them, some with names and others without. To the north there is the Mukkumpe pass between two high hills, Hampayyana-gudda and Bande-gudda. To the north-east is the Benkal pass, narrow and precipitous. To the south-east is the Anegondi pass, no better than Benkal, long and tedious with many ups and downs. To the south is the Basâpur or Arlâpur pass. At present all these can be made on foot only, pack animals toiling through some with the greatest difficulty. Only one opening to the west towards Bûdugumpe, is a little better, having a long, miserable country track.

#### Some Old Landmarks.

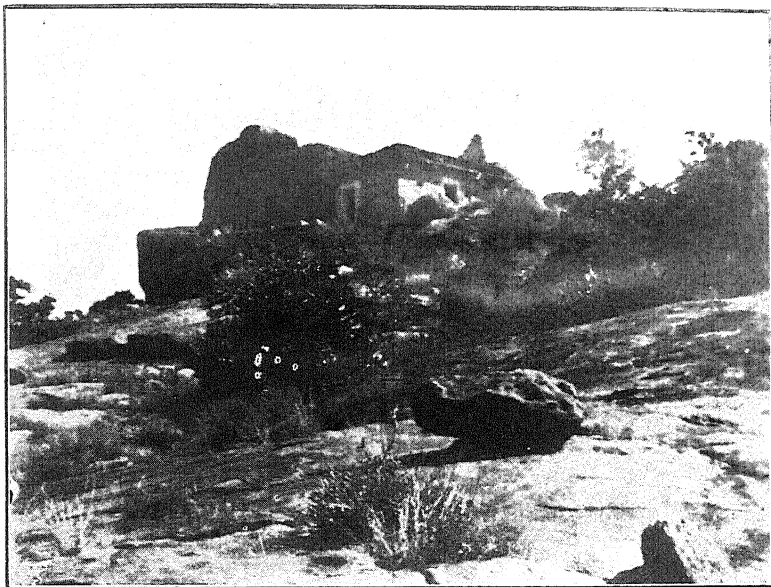
On this last route, about two miles from the village, Biḷe-bhâvi, there is a small hillock formed out of one solid rock, which is locally known as *Bahadurbande*, may be after Bahadur Khan or Bahau-ud-din, the well-known Delhi officer who sought shelter with Kampila. About two miles from this rock, there is a long row of heavy blocks of stone laid across the pass to a height of four to five feet. This is called *Kudure-kallu* or horse-stones, and was, it is said, intended to prevent the advance of cavalry in bygone days. Close to this is a place, at present called Gangamma-halla, which, perhaps, stands for Gange-mâla, one of the well-known landmarks in the neighbourhood of Kummata, according to the poet Nanjunda's account.†

Fixing our camp at Mukkumpe, we observe thence, about a mile to the east, a small eminence, in a spacious area, called locally *Pâpâsugudda*. On closer examination, it is found to be a mud-hill, about a hundred feet‡ in

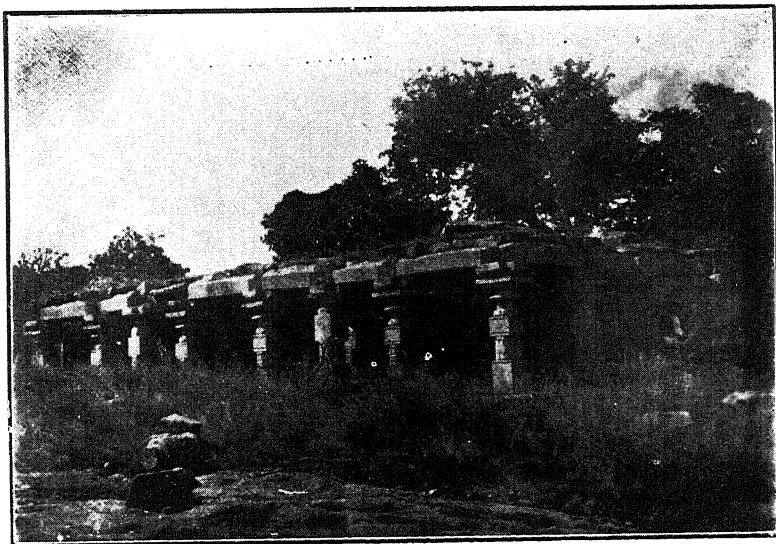
\* This is one of the many versions.

† See Nanjunda's *Paradâra-Sôdara-Râmana-Kathe* (Madras M.S.S.) Canto 38, verse 66. Cf. English Summary, *Q. J. M. S.*, Vol. XX, No. 3, p. 204.

‡ The measurements given in this article are approximate, as in the absence of necessary instruments, the naked eye was the only judge.



Jatangi Rameswara Temple



The Jain Temple



height, round, plain-looking and a striking exception to the rocky hills in the vicinity. According to tradition, this was formed by the dust collected from the shoes of the army of the Sultan of Delhi, which is said to have encamped here during one of its campaigns against Kumâra Râmanatha. On the other hand, it may be that this has some connection with the *pâpâsu* incident, so well described in Ganga's *Kumâra Râmana-Charitre*.\*

Starting from Mukkumpe, about a mile on our way towards Kummata, a cliff at a great height to our left is pointed out as *Jênkallu*. This is on the top of Mâdigara-Hampayyana-gudda, a hill named after one of the well-known lieutenants of Kumâra Râma. What one sees to-day is a few beehives clinging on to the under-surface of a projecting ledge of rock, which, by its position and appearance, is sufficiently striking to arrest attention. If this were the same Jênkal, where, as Ganga says,† Mâtangi encamped during her campaign, it serves to remind us of one more incident connected with Kumâra-Râma's life. The proximity of Mukkumpe tank and the extensive plain alongside the Gangavati road, which runs close by, being most convenient for the encampment of an army, there does not seem to be any improbability about this identification.

#### The Two Kummatas.

From Jênkal, our way lies along the Mukkumpe pass. Pass is no correct word for this footpath beneath pressing branches of trees and between bush and bramble. Without any other alternative, we struggle through this for nearly two miles till we reach an open ground, elevated and spacious, its greatest length being about three miles and its widest breadth about two. This is the plain of Kummata. Its sight is no more cheering than the countryside for miles around. A wild solitude, overgrown with jungle, thorny bushes and long grass, hemmed in by a ring of hills on all sides, and with no sign of human life or habitation, it is not till one visits this place personally that he can have any idea of its impregnable situation, which, in the words of Nuniz, "was very difficult to enter"‡ and, according to Ibn Batuta, was "among inaccessible mountains".§ Here, towards the south, in an angle formed by two ridges of hills, is a pond called *Hâlu-bhâvi*|| about twenty feet by twenty feet, a poor structure built of loose stones. This is said to have been the chief source of drinking water for

\* See Canto I, verses 23-25, and 31; or its English summary in the Supplement to the *Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society* for October 1929, p. 3.

† See Canto VII, v. 83; or *Q. J. M. S.* Supplement for October 1929, p. 13.

‡ See Sewell's *Forgotten Empire*, p. 293.

§ See *Elliot and Dowson*, Vol. III, p. 614,

|| i.e., milk pond,



Kummata in former days. Close by, some twenty years ago, we are told, an inscribed slab was lying, of which nothing is seen at present.

Turning aside from this pond we proceed towards old or Haḷe Kummata, close upon the eastern end of the plain. As we wend our way over stone and thorn, we notice traces of recent tilling in some places, the only few for miles around. A tramp of two and a half miles, and we are in sight of a deserted village, a couple of small shrines and about a dozen houses still standing in it. All of them are poorly built with mud and stones and there is very little remarkable about them. The few surviving wooden pillars and door-frames clearly indicate that the present buildings, anyway, are not older than a few years, though the site may be very old. There is nothing else of importance here. Nor do we find any sign of human life, save in a few rickety huts, a furlong distant, where about thirty Bêdars yet linger—all that are left of Râmanâtha's heroic breed. Even these are recent migrants from neighbouring villages and they live by a haphazard cultivation of *javâri*, *navane* and *chajji*.

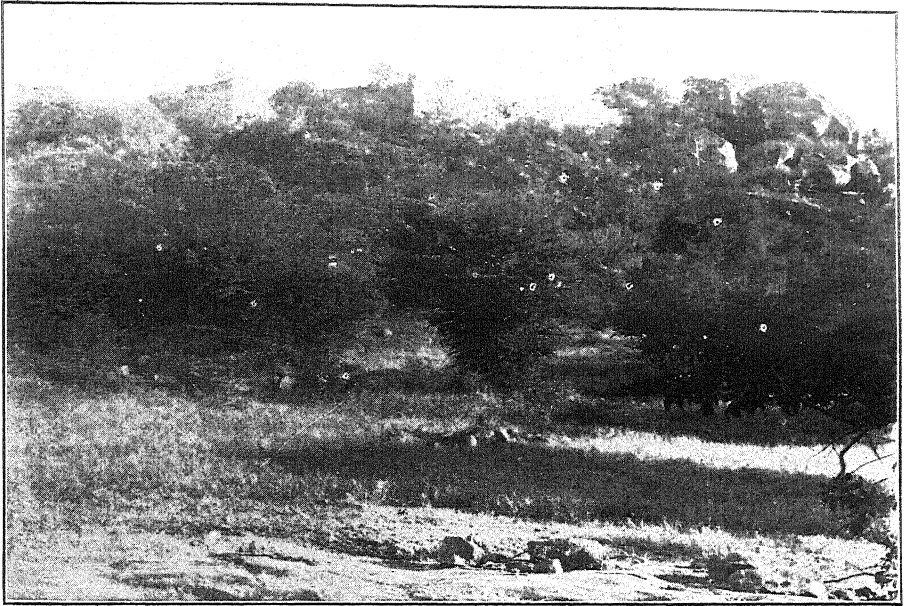
Leaving this place behind, we wade through waist-deep grass, retracing our steps for two miles till we reach Hosa Kummata. On our way, an iron bar sticking into a rock is pointed out as the lance which Râmanâtha threw against Mâtangi in his last fight with her. This, no convincing argument to us, adds at least to the weight of Râmanâtha's association with this locality. Close to this is another row of *Kudure-kallu*, similar to the one described earlier in this article. Hosa Kummata is a quarter of a mile from this spot and is very soon reached. This place seems to be identical with the Kumâra-Râmana-Kummata of the maps, the latter name being strictly applicable to the hill-fort, while Hosa Kummata is the name applied to the town below. Part of it forming the *pêta*\* and built outside the fort-walls is, to-day, a confused mass of *debris* except for the bare walls of about half a dozen houses which still rear their heads amidst a scene of general desolation.

#### The Fortifications of Hosa Kummata.

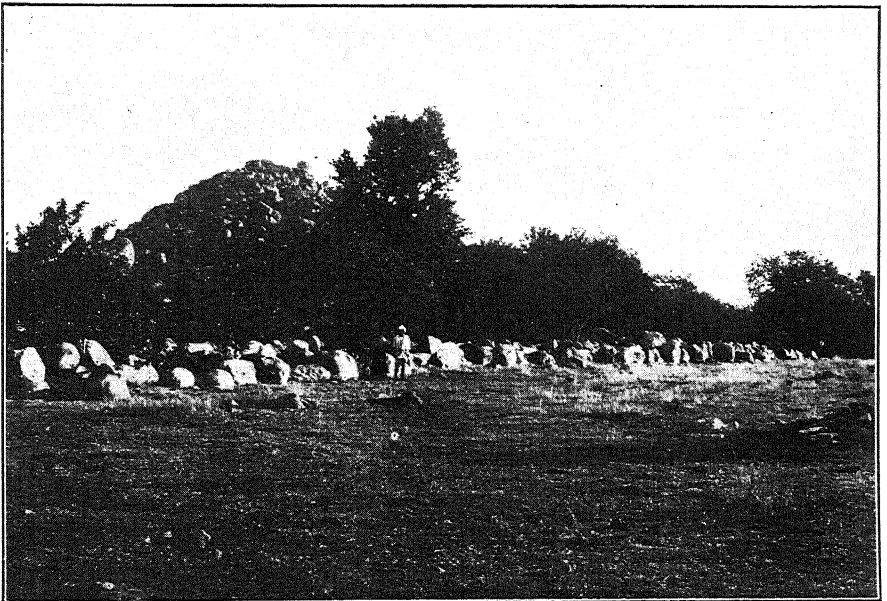
About two furlongs from this place, we come across its fortifications. In their present ruined condition, overgrown with trees in most places, it is not possible for us to form any clear idea of their plan. By what one can make out to-day, the object of the builder † seems to have been to enclose the two neighbouring hills of Kumâra-Râmana-gudda and Hampayyana-gudda at both their ends, blocking the valley-heads on either side. With this object,

\* *i.e.*, bazaar.

† According to *Chenna Basava Purâna*, it was Kumâra Râma that caused these lines to be built. See Kanda 5, Sandhi 9, verse 77.



Part of Outer Fort Wall



Kudure Kallu or Horse Stones



the lines, of necessity, have been carried at all angles and elevations, according to the convenience of the ground and the demands, perhaps, of military strategy. There are, at least, three such to be seen even to-day, two at the bottom and one on the top of Kumâra-Râmana-gudda. The walls, together with the breast-works and detached defences, may be taken to cover a length of not less than five miles. Their height does not exceed fifteen feet in any place, the thickness being about the same. These are built in the old Hindu style, with rectangular tapering bastions and small, square, uncemented blocks of stone, of about two feet by four, the top being generally finished with longer ones. There is no sign of battlements anywhere, a good test of the age when firearms had not come into use. Nor do we find any trace of there having been any ditch in front of any of them. This may be due to their original absence or later overgrowth of jungle trees. This nearly suggests the time of their construction to have been pre-Mussalman. As they resemble, in plan and material, the innermost wall in Raichur fort, which bears an inscription of 1294, their date would be about the close of the thirteenth or the beginning of the fourteenth century. The outer line, which lies at a distance of two to four furlongs from the foot of Kumâra Râma's hill, is carried partly round Mâdigara Hampayyana-gudda towards its south-western side. In like manner, we see another, close to Mukkumpe tank enclosing an even bigger area. This latter is continued from the north-east bottom of Hampayyana-gudda to the foot of Hanumanta-dêvara-gudda. Unlike the walls of Hosa Kummata, this is constructed with huge, long blocks of stone all along. This wall is uniformly below five feet in height and was perhaps meant as a breast-work, or must have been left unfinished. What *pêta* or part of the town this enclosed, it is difficult to decide.

#### Its Antiquities.

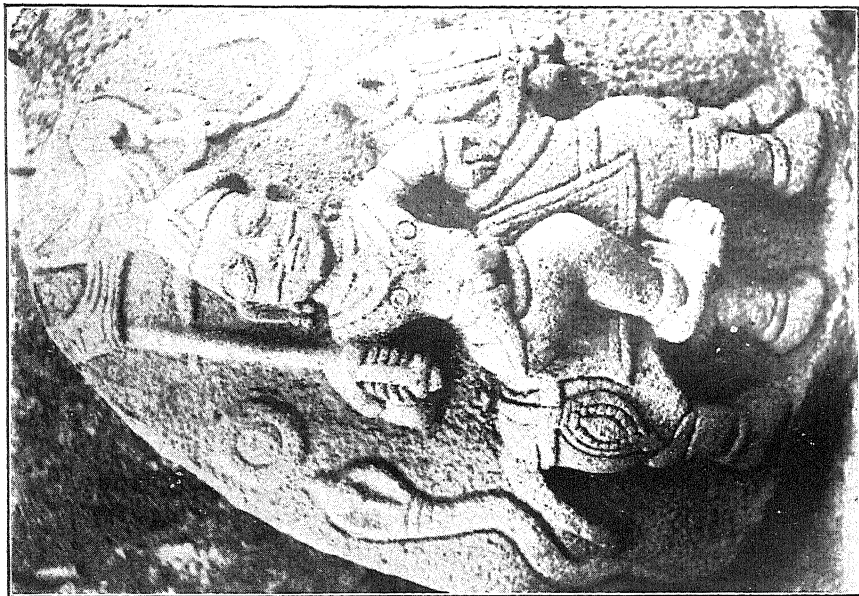
To return to Hosa Kummata, we find between its outer wall and the second, a pretty big area of level ground stretching at the bottom of Kumâra-Râmana-gudda. Evidently this was the *Killa* or the fort-ward of Hosa Kummata, while the *pêta* or bazaar lay outside. Here we come across pillars, hero-stones or *veeragals*, rude gateways, small crumbling shrines and scattered stone mortars. A specimen of the first kind is *Chintâlakallu*, two stone slabs of about eight feet in height fixed vertically in the ground. These are said to have been formerly used as supports for weighing cash. Close by is a shrine, a poor structure of about five feet in height, breadth and length, built of small rude stones and overgrown with a tree. This is called *Baichappana-gudi*, evidently a memorial raised in later years in honour of the famous minister of Kampila. There is nothing inside it

except two or three pieces of round, polished stones, perhaps used as worshipping images, but now lying overturned in a corner, neglected and without any worship.

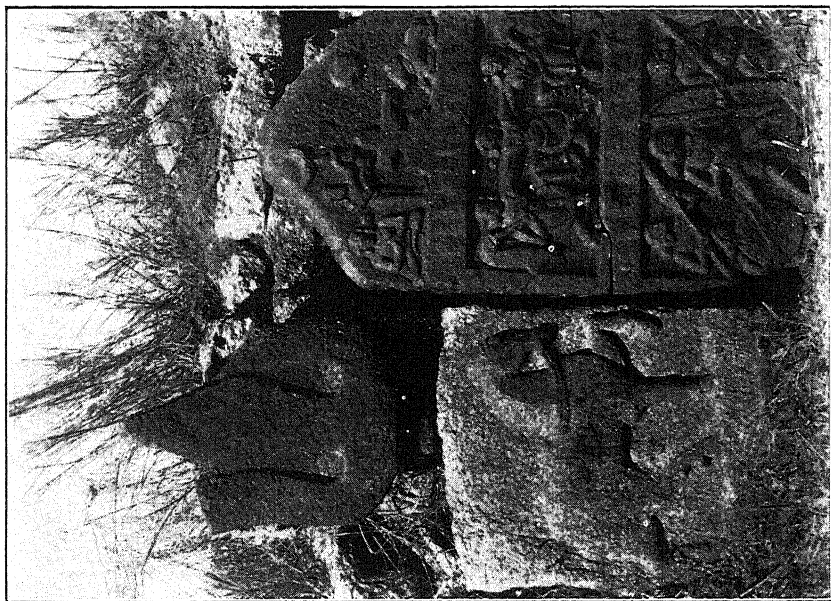
Near by, in the midst of a thicket and among stones and rubbish, we notice a triangular piece of greenish black stone, three feet by two and a half. It rests on a stone pedestal, while a small banyan tree, over-spreading, casts its shade on it. On this stone are carved a hooded cobra, the sun and the moon and on the top a parrot holding in its beak what appears to be a budding flower. In the middle of these emblems is a finely worked figure in high relief, clearly of a man with a dagger at his waist and a drawn, up-lifted sword in his right hand. This, without doubt, is a representation of Kumâra Râmanâtha on his famous charger Bolla. In addition to the garlands, wristlets and anklets with which this figure is decorated, it has on its head a kind of cap with a tassel on one side. It seems that this stone was lying buried on this spot for a long time, and was dug up from its place, a few years ago, by some unknown people in search of treasure. Thus brought to light, it was placed in its present position, a hollow in the ground, flanked on three sides with rough slabs. A small earthen pot in front, intended for oil and light, is all that gives any indication of occasional worship.

A few yards to the north-east of this, is a *veeragal* fixed in the ground, the stone used being of the same dark-green variety. It has three panels, the bottom one representing figures of men with bows, arrows and daggers fighting, with some fallen figures of human beings at their feet. In the second are three figures, one of which is a man and the other two, women with *chowries* or fly-whisks in their hands. The third is surmounted by a *linga* and a *basava* or bull, with two squatting figures of a man and a woman on one side, the figure of Siva, with *jata* and *damaruga* on the other. The human figures, husband and wife, are made to sit with their palms closed as in deep meditation, while Siva with his upraised hand is pointing heavenwards. On the top of all these are the hollowed symbols of the sun and the moon. Without doubt, this refers to some battle scene in which a warrior laid down his life and, being carried by angels, was finally united with Siva. It is difficult to say to whom this refers, particularly so, as there are no inscriptions on it. It may be Râmanâtha or some one else.

From this place we approach the second line of fort-walls which runs closer to the bottom of the hill. This is carried up and down the hill-side towards the south for some distance. It has a sort of a gateway without top or tower, perhaps *huli-bâgilu* or Tiger entrance. If this be so, it was here that the greatest slaughter of the Delhi forces took place, the garrison offering



Kumara Ramanatha's Image



Hero Stones near Rameswara Temple



it the stoutest resistance at the time of the last siege of the fort.\* From this place, the regular ascent to the hill begins. The gradient is easy no doubt; but the old stairway being much disturbed by time, it is no pleasant climbing anywhere up our course.

### Kumara-Ramana-Durga.

The main hill called Kumâra-Râmana-gudda, with the *durga* or the hill-fort at its top, is situated in the centre of the conventional "Seven Hills" with three on each side. In form, it is fish-like, but with a broad, spacious back of nearly twenty acres of more or less level ground. Rising to a height of nearly 2,000 feet above sea level, it lies north-east and south-west, with a number of rocks and ridges scattered at its feet. Its north-east end, towards Mukkumpe, slopes gently from the top, being easy of access to the enemy, as will be clear from the fact that men and goats climb by this way even to-day. To strengthen this, an additional fort-wall was built joining Hampayya's and Râma's hills at the north-east valley-head. This is carried partly over the north-east slope of the former and also for some distance towards its crest. Likewise another detached line was built across the slope half way up the latter's side.

Passing the Tiger entrance on the south-western side, and at about a height of two hundred feet from it, we meet with another line of fort-wall, the third from the bottom now. This is not a complete line but only a part of it protecting the stairway. Here we come across a second *veeragal*. This also represents a battle scene in its bottom panel. In the next is sculptured the figure of a man being carried in a palanquin or *vimâna* by heavenly nymphs. There being no inscriptions on it, we are left to conjecture as to whom it refers.

We continue our climbing, past huge boulders and overhanging trees till, quarter way up, we see a small shrine called Kâtappana-gudi. This is about five feet in height and built with small, loose stones, an empty hole without image or worship. Clearly enough, it is a memorial raised to perpetuate the name of Râmanâtha's equally heroic brother.

Further on, we come to what is called *âne pâga* or elephant stables. This is about hundred and fifty feet by thirty feet, the walls being about ten feet in height. They are built with long, rudely worked, uncemented blocks of stone, loosely placed one above the other. There is no roof, the top being wide open to the sky. The floor is overgrown with weeds and plants. The existence of space for a window on one side and a narrow entrance on

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\* See Ganga's *Kumâra-Râmana-Charitre*, C. VII, v. 259; or *Q.J.M.S.* Supplement for October 1929, p. 15.



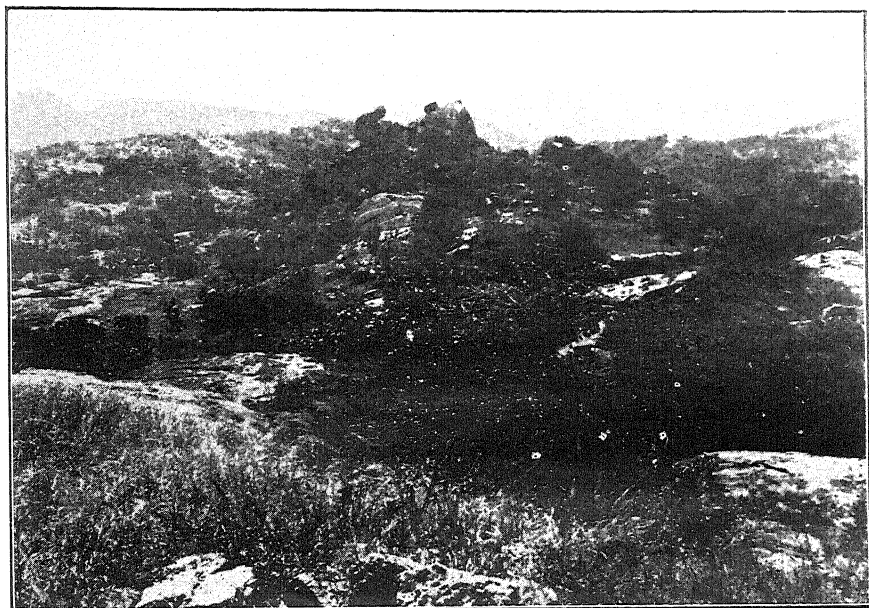
the other, indicates that this building must have been some kind of human dwelling, house or office, but not elephant stables.

From this point the path becomes still more difficult. In some places it is a task to keep our balance over tumbling stones. In others we have to scramble on all fours over smooth, sloping rocks. Not infrequently, we are held back by thorny bushes scratching and tearing our sides. Thus we toil on towards the top fighting our way all through. Reaching it, we notice the third line of fort-wall of varying height and thickness carried round the verge of the precipice, on all the three sides except towards the north. At a distance of a few feet from it, we enter the temple of Jatāngi Rāmēsha, the favourite deity of Kumāra Rāmanātha. As it stands to-day, it has a *sanctum* and a four-pillared enclosure in front. Its tower is pyramidal, somewhat after the fashion of the Hēmāḍapanti buildings of Maharāshtra. Signs are not wanting of its being recently rebuilt. The whole building, with its pillars and walls, is thickly plastered with *chunam*. The holy of holies is constructed partly underneath a huge rock, in which there is no image whatever, but an excuse of a *lingam* in the form of a crude blackstone. By its side are placed eight black, round stones. The temple is deserted, no regular worship being conducted. Every year a festival is held here on *Āgi-huṇṇime* or *Vaishakha suddha pournima*,\* which is attended by the neighbouring villagers to a number of about 500 to 1,000 people. One feature of this is, the worship of two dummy heads of Kumāra Rāmanātha, one of which is brought from the village of Indiri,† about six miles distant, and another from Mallāpura, near Anegondi. In the course of the festival, some sheep, we are told, are slaughtered and after being cooked with *javāri*, the food is served out to all the pilgrims as *veera-kūlu*, or hero's dinner. This is evidently in memory of Kumāra Rāma's heroic deeds. It is said that some years ago this festival used to go on for three days and a much larger number of people used to attend it. Somehow or other, this is connected with *Huligammana jātre* in Huligi, now called Munirabad, a railway station in the Nizam's State, next to Hospet. This also takes place about the same time on *Vaishakha bahula navami*. In this *jātra* also, a dinner is said to be served out, called *Kumāra-oota*, that is, Kumāra's dinner, perhaps recalling the name of Kumāra Rāma.

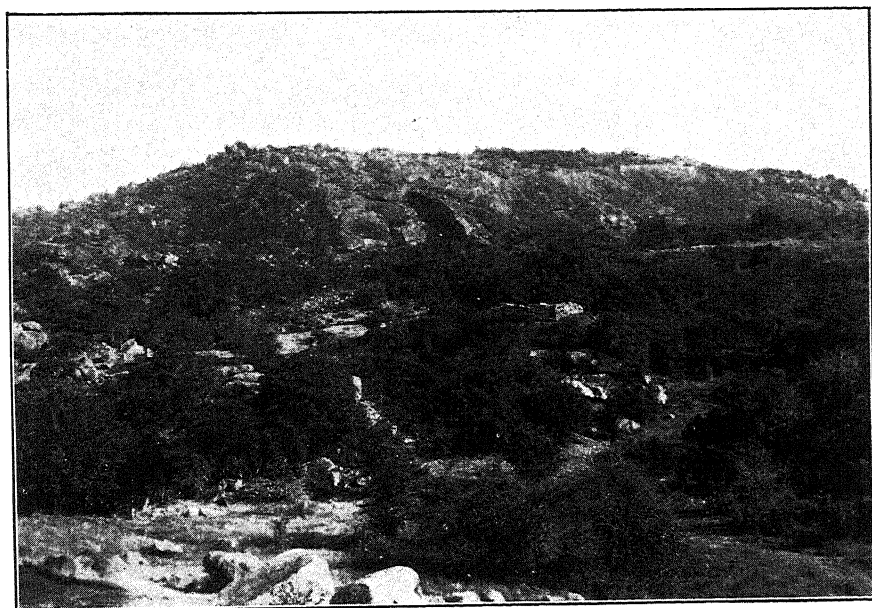
Next to Jatāngi Rāmēsha temple, is the third *veeragal*, a black slab containing three panels. In the bottom portion are chiselled out some shield-men in battle array. The second is made to represent a hero being

\* This would be about the middle of May.

† There are four such heads to be seen in the picture; one, without doubt, represents Rāma's head. The others, stand for those of Kampila, Baichappa and Kāta.



A Typical Landscape



Kumara Ramana Durga



carried by angels heavenwards and the last shows his union with the *linga*. By its side there is another stone with only the figure of a horse on it, again the deification of the war-horse Bolla.

Just behind Jatāngi Rāmēsha temple and in front of a huge boulder, some depressions, said to be the footprints of Bolla, are pointed out on the surface of the rocky floor. According to popular belief, the horse jumped from this spot across the narrow valley to the hill opposite, called Mādigara-Hampayyanagudda or Jūjinapadi. This is, of course, clearly meaningless unless we take it as another proof for connecting Bolla with Kumāra Rāma's hill.

Leaving this, we proceed towards the east through a crude gateway formed by two gigantic rocks. A few yards' walk brings us in sight of the citadel, situated on a higher ground, in fact the highest on the hill. This was "the Rai's"\* last place of refuge, where, according to the Hindu, Mussalman and Portuguese accounts, the royal household spent some of its last anxious hours, as the tide of battle ebbed and flowed at the bottom of the hill. The old walls seem to have been pulled down at some later period and replaced by those standing to-day, as will be clear from their cemented stones, semi-circular bastions and musket holes. The plan of the citadel is an elongated oval, constructed lengthwise from east to west. It has two lines, one inside the other, the outer at its greatest length being about one hundred and fifty yards long and the inner only about *a hundred feet* in length. The latter contains a plain gateway to the north. From this position, looking towards the south and the east, we see in the distance, amidst the opening of the hills, sheets of water of the Tungabhadra and its green cultivated banks.

To the north of the citadel is a deserted Jain temple in a ruined condition with a fine running verandah in front. To its right, towards the south, are three ruined basements of temples, one of which at least, by the broken head of a bull lying near by, suggests it to have been a Shiva temple. Unfortunately, there is no inscription to be found on any of these. But, by the style and structure, especially, by the round Chalukyan capitals of the first, it may be safely conjectured that they are as old as Rāmanātha's days, if not earlier. There is a magazine house also close by, which, by its appearance, looks to be of a later date. Besides these, *Rāmana-done*, a reservoir of water named perhaps after Kumāra Rāma, is to the south-west. It is hewn out of solid rock, deep, narrow and long, and contains the best drinkable water on the hill. There are also a few more of this kind, the biggest of them being *Kande-Kattige-done*, to the north-west.

In front of the temple and to the north of the citadel and basements, is a pretty big *plaza*, perfectly level and spacious. To be sure, this is the

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\* It remains to be settled whether this refers to Kampila or Rāmanātha.

large open space which was, according to Nuniz, "before the citadel".\* If this identification be correct, this spot is the most historic of all historic landmarks on or in the neighbourhood of the hill. A halo of immortality hangs over it, if only one recalls to his mind that it was here that when the fall of the fort was imminent and life and honour swayed in the balance, the king, before his own self-chosen death, "slew over fifty of his wives and some sons and little daughters",† lest they should fall into the hands of the enemy.

#### Other Surviving Memorials.

Opposite to Kumâra Râma's hill, there is a valley to the south-east and beyond is a hill called Kâtappana-gudda or Gulaganji-gudda, full of needle-shaped, sharp-pointed stones. This is another attempt to perpetuate the name of Kâṭa. Between this and the former, blocked by another rocky eminence called *Bollana-gundu*, is a dried up tank called *Bollana-Kere*, surely after the very same Bolla, Râmanâtha's favourite horse.

To the north-west, close by Jatângi Râmêsha temple and stretched at our feet, we notice a long, narrow ravine called *Kumâra-Râmana-Kanive*. This runs north-east and south-west connecting the plain of Kummata with that of Mukkumpe. The passage through it, made naturally dangerous by the high precipitous sides of Kumâra-Râma's hill and Mâdiga Hampayyana-gudda, is rendered more difficult by a ridge of rocks which link the two hills to a height of nearly a hundred feet from the bottom. As if this were not enough, this is blocked both towards its north-west and south-east ends by two separate lines of fortification, thus preventing all ingress into it.

#### Their Importance.

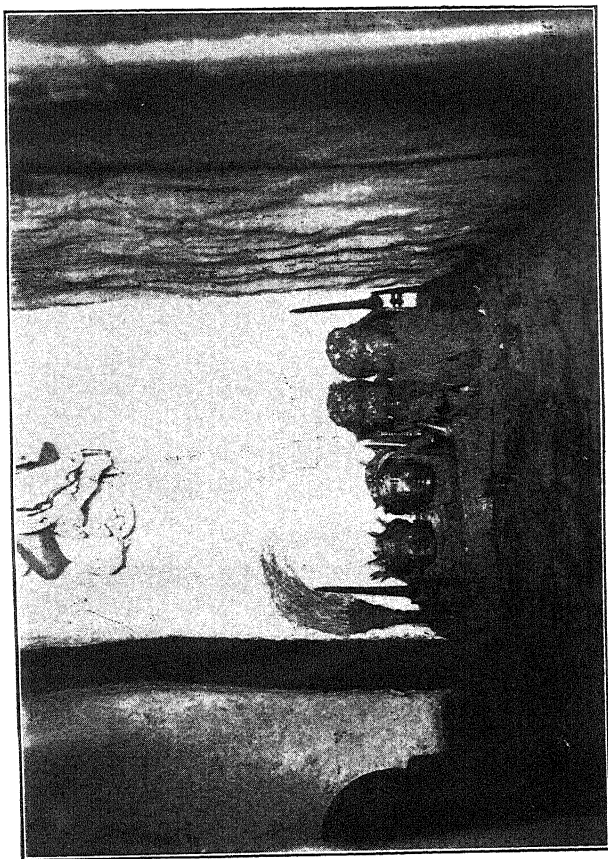
These vestiges are not without their use in establishing the existence of Kummata as a historic place and Râmanâtha's association with its fortunes. May be, the surviving memorials are not sufficiently numerous and imposing. It is true that they do not provide us with dates‡ and details, so necessary for solving the many riddles connected with its name. But, it should not be forgotten that Kummata was, after all, the infant capital§ of a short-lived kingdom. Much that might have remained to add to our knowledge was perhaps overturned by its Mussalman conqueror. A good deal was doubtless destroyed by six centuries of neglect and decay. The rest possibly lies hidden beneath the jungle, waiting for a closer study. In the absence of definite data, even lore and legend are something, as welcome assets to our meagre knowledge. More, it is too much to expect at this stage.

\* See Sewell's *Forgotten Empire*, p. 295.

† *Ibid.*, p. 295.

‡ Only one inscription was found here in a much damaged condition. An attempt is being made to decipher it, if possible.

§ This was partly a fact. Hale Kummata was a much older town.



Dummy Heads of Kumara Rama



## THE APOSTLE THOMAS AND INDIA.

By M. S. RAMASWAMI AIYAR, ESQ., B.A., M.R.A.S.

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“Then said Thomas, which is called Didymus, unto his fellow-disciples, Let us also go that we may die with Him.”—John xi. 16.

OF the twelve persons whom Jesus Christ ordained on the Mount as his Apostles, one flits across the pages of the New Testament like a phantom. That is Apostle Thomas. Matthew, Mark and Luke reveal not much of him. But John lifts the curtain a little to show the man. Man is a born worshipper: he lives for the object of his worship and his life is an index to the intensity of his love for it. “Let us also go that we may die with Him” were the urging words that Thomas spoke to his brethren. But the curtain drops and the Holy Writ is silent as to how or where he died “with Him”. The curtain lifts again in a far away land. For Christian tradition tells us how he carried his Master’s gospel to India and ended his life in it in spreading that gospel. Our chief authority is the Syriac book of the Acts of Thomas. Greek, Latin, Ethiopic, Indian and other versions as well of the tradition exist. Stripped of its miraculous elements and very briefly told the legend is this. Some time after the crucifixion of Jesus, when the Apostles assembled together at Jerusalem and divided by lot among themselves the countries of the world into missionary areas, India fell to the share of Thomas and he hesitated to go there. At that juncture Gudnaphar, King of India, sent his merchant Habban to the west to procure an artificer to build a palace for him. The merchant appeared in Jerusalem, secured Thomas and returned to his sovereign. It is needless to tell in detail all that the Apostle did in Gudnaphar’s land. Suffice it to say that after securing followers there, the Saint passed on to another country whose king was called Mazdai. Here also he made converts and as a result of his activities, he suffered death for Jesus’ sake in this king’s realm and was buried in it.

For a long time learned men thought that the tradition connecting the Holy Man with India was an idle tale, for it had no corroboration. The needed corroboration came in the sixteenth and nineteenth centuries. In 1517 some Portuguese adventurers discovered the relics of the ancient tomb of Thomas in South India and in 1834 an American, Masson by name, discovered a coin in Afghanistan, bearing the name of Gondophares on it. Since then



more of these coins have been recovered in Punjab, Afghanistan, Seistan and Sind. These events placed the tradition upon a historical basis and in 1848 M. Reinaud, the French orientalist, first drew attention to it. Since then the question of the connection of the Apostle with India has been under discussion. The recovery of the tomb of the Saint in S.-E. India is as good a discovery as the recovery of the coin of the king in N.-W. India. A coin is a rolling article of the world, but a tomb built with brick and mortar is a permanent fixture to earth. Historians attaching greater value to the discovery of the coins state that Gudnaphar and Gondophares are metathetical forms of one and the same name: that Gondophares of the coin was Gudnaphar of the Christian tradition: that Gudnaphar was a non-Indian king of the N.-W.: that Mazdai was probably a N. Indian monarch: that the Saint did not visit S. India and that the Church of San Thome there is not the Apostle's tomb. Historians have not yet located Mazdai's realm: they are still seeking it. Devotees on the other hand attaching greater weight to the discovery of the ancient Church hold that that Church is the Apostle's tomb and that Mazdai's realm was in S.-E. India where the city of Madras now is. These devotees do not know where Gudnaphar ruled: it is immaterial to them to ascertain where his kingdom was: the recovery of the tomb is enough for them, for it is a holy spot whereon they might pray. A perusal of the legend makes one think that the realms of Gudnaphar and Mazdai lay not far from each other. But historians assert that they have discovered Gudnaphar's seat in Afghanistan and that Thomas laboured in N. India and devotees assert that they have discovered Mazdai's capital in Madras and that Thomas toiled in S. India. If Afghanistan was Gudnaphar's land, Mazdai's realm must have been situated not far from it: if Madras was Mazdai's realm, Gudnaphar's country must have been not far from it. But more than 2000 miles divide Kabul from Madras. What is phantom to the one is reality to the other. Where lay the two kingdoms? Who hold the truth, historians or devotees? Vincent Smith in his *Oxford History of India* observes: "The subject has been discussed by many authors from every possible point of view and immense learning has been invoked in the hope of establishing one or other hypothesis without reaching any conclusion approaching certainty. There is no reason to expect that additional evidence will be discovered." Thomas' mission to India and his death in it is a historical and a psychological problem. The psychological side has been forgotten: that is why some doubt the martyrdom. To emphasize that neglected side of the question, I have quoted John xi. 16 at the top of this contribution. If no definite conclusion approaching certainty on the historical side has been reached, it is because the matter has been discussed

till now entirely from the analytical point of view. To arrive at a satisfactory end the problem must be approached from the synthetic standpoint. What does the existing evidence tell us when examined from the synthetic viewpoint?

Information furnished by the Syriac, Greek, Latin, Ethiopic and Indian versions will be utilized in the following pages. Three Syriac manuscripts exist now—one is in the British Museum, the second one is in Berlin and is called the Sachau manuscript and the third is in Cambridge. The Br. Mus. MS. states that after the Apostles had divided the countries of the world by lot for missionary work “a certain merchant, an Indian, happened to come into the south country from.....whose name was Habban”, etc. With reference to the blank space of the extract given above, Mr. W. R. Philipps says in the *Indian Antiquary* ( 1903 ) that “The Syriac MS. in the British Museum is injured here and the name is unfortunately illegible. It is of course of the first importance. I do not know if it is found in the Sachau MS. at Berlin or in the Cambridge MS. The Greek says only ‘apo tees Indias’. The Latin gives no name.” In another place of the *Indian Antiquary* says he again: “It is unfortunate that the name of the place from which Habban came cannot be deciphered in the Syriac text. It would help us to locate King Gudnaphar, a most important point.” What do the Ber. and Camb. MSS. say? They state that “a certain merchant came from the south country”, etc. It will be seen that the Ber. and Camb. MSS. not only do not contain the illegible word of the Br. Mus. MS. but also give a variant reading. ‘From’ is read instead of ‘into’. The decipherment of the word of the Br. Mus. MS. is an important item, for as Mr. Philipps has said it would help us to locate Gudnaphar. But the other two Syriac manuscripts do not help us. The injured word is still an illegible word. It is painful to see a key word in a text and yet not be able to decipher it. And neglected by scholars the tantalising manuscript slumbers on the shelf of the British Museum under the care of its guardian. A perusal of the legend as set forth in the two sets of manuscripts shows that the Br. Mus. MS. by its “south country” means Palestine and that the Ber. and Camb. MSS. by their “south country” mean India: the former refers to the country of arrival and the latter to the country of departure of Habban. Since the Ber. and Camb. MSS. do not contain the illegible word of the Br. Mus. MS., scholars have paid no more attention to them thinking apparently that the variation is an insignificant one which any two sets of writers narrating a story might make. And so unheeded these two manuscripts lie in Berlin and in Cambridge. And the problem of the connection of the Apostle with India lingers yet staring at us in a dying-living state. No doubt the difference between the two

sets of Syriac manuscripts is an insignificant one. But the simplest facts often contain the greatest clues. Let us proceed to re-examine the seemingly insignificant variant reading of the Ber. and Camb. MSS. "a certain merchant came from the south country". For that simple statement supplies the clue that scholars have been seeking all along.

Now Edessa in Asia Minor played a great part in early eastern Christianity. That city was the seat of the very first Christian kingdom of the world and was moreover the centre of Syriac literature. The authors of the Syriac versions belonged to Edessa or its neighbourhood. A look at the map would show that while Palestine is more or less directly to the south of Edessa, India lies far away from it more in an eastern than a southern direction. Since both Palestine and India (roughly speaking) are in a southerly direction to Edessa, the importance of the variation in the readings of the two sets of manuscripts has not struck investigators. The variation is important this way. The world commonly recognizes only the four cardinal points of the compass: except for special purposes it ignores the intermediate ones. Let me illustrate my contention. Though Europe is really to the N.-W. of India, yet we speak of its civilization not as the N.-W. but as the W. civilization. A writer of Edessa is expected to call Palestine the south country. But judged by the standard of common usage of the world, he would call India the eastern country. In these circumstances there must be some particular reason for the writers of the Ber. and Camb. MSS. to dub the place of Habban's departure "the south country". What could it be? A little reflection would show that usage often converts general expressions into proper names. Porto Novo (new port), Kothapatam (new town) and Puducheri (new village) might once have been general expressions but usage has converted them into proper names for they are the actual designations of certain towns of S. India. Peninsular India to the south of the Vindhya mountains has been known from hoary times as Dakshinapatha and that name had travelled to the west in the form of Dachinabades before the Syriac versions of Thomas' story were written. The corrupt later abbreviated form of Dakshinapatha is Dekkan. Dekkan meaning south country is not a general expression: it is a proper name: it is Peninsular India. When the Ber. and Camb. MSS. say that Habban came from "the south country", they use these words not as a general expression but as a proper name. They mean that Habban came from "the south country"—Dekkan—Peninsular India. The seemingly insignificant variant reading of the Ber. and Camb. MSS. therefore furnishes a clue of the highest importance. They actually specify the region of Habban's departure.

If these two texts do not enable us to decipher the illegible word of the Br. Mus. MS. they help us at least to locate that word. Since the generality

of versions state that Habban came from India, Mr. Burkit, the author of "Early Eastern Christianity", thinks that the illegible word of the Br. Mus. MS. might be the Syriac for Hindustan. But my own idea is that the illegible word refers to some particular locality of "the south country" of the Ber. and Camb. MSS. The particular locality of "the south country" could be learnt only if we know the unread word. What could be the illegible word of the Br. Mus. MS.?

There was a celebrated Syrian writer called Jacob of Sarug born in 451. He was called "the flute of the Holy Spirit and the harp of the believing church". He wrote a poem on the palace that St. Thomas built in India and Mahuza is mentioned in it in connection with merchants. Mr. R. Schroter is a modern investigator who has written on these matters. He is unable to decide whether Habban's start was from Mahuza or whether only merchants came from there. Assimani was a learned Syrian orientalist who was employed in the Vatican library as Scriptor of the Syriac and Arabic language. In 1715 he was sent by Clement XI to travel in quest of oriental manuscripts and to edit those already in the Vatican and the result of his labours is four folio volumes. Assimani's comments on the above-mentioned poem make it clear that Habban came from Mahuza. Bishop Medlycott who was formerly Vicar Apostolic at Trichur of Cochin is a deep scholar who has written a monumental book on "India and Apostle Thomas" and it is a valuable mine of information. In page 249 of that book the doctor says that "If Assimani is right in his reading of the poem, of which there will probably be little doubt, Mahuza would be the missing word and would fit our text which reads at present 'a certain merchant, an Indian, happened to come into the south country from.....whose name was Habban'. "Mahuza is apparently the illegible word of the Br. Mus. MS. If so it must be the place of India from which Habban went to Palestine under the orders of King Gudnaphar. Dr. Medlycott though he went a step further than Mr. Schroter yet unfortunately misled by Assimani's comments into thinking Mahuza to be a Mesopotamian town, merely threw out a plausible suggestion and kept quiet. The doctor published his book in 1903. Investigators who have discussed the question subsequent to that date too unfortunately have not taken up Mr. Medlycott's suggestion and pursued the matter further, for the suggested name Mahuza gives the final clue to the solution of a long baffling problem. Mahuza was not a town of Mesopotamia as Assimani thought. Where was it then?

It was stated before that if the Ber. and Camb. MSS. do not enable us to decipher the illegible word of the Br. Mus. MS. they help us at least to locate it. The illegible name has been discovered to be Mahuza: it is probably (as

stated a little while ago by me) the name of a particular locality of "the south country" of the Ber. and Camb. MSS. The reader is aware by this time that "the south country" of the Ber. and Camb. MSS. is Dekkan. Since the Ber. and Camb. MSS. say that Habban came from Dekkan : since Dekkan is a vast region and since the Br. Mus. MS. says that he came from Mahuza, Mahuza must be a specific locality of Dekkan and it must be sought in that region. What place is it?

In Tamil works a part of Dekkan is called Erumai Nadu (buffalo land). The Sanscrit word for Tamil *Erumai* is Mahisha and it is from this term that the name Mysore comes. Mysore means Town of Mahisha (Mahisha=buffalo and Uru=town). Since our reasoning suggested the searching of Mahuza in Dekkan, Mahuza is Mysore. In Indian usage Pili (tiger) and Pidi (handful) are also written as Puli and Pudi and place suffixes like Uru, Patna and Pura are often omitted ; e.g., Tanjore is known also as Tanjii, Chennapatna as Chennai and Kanchipura as Kanchi and so forth. It is not without reason that Jacob of Sarug wrote Mahuza instead of Mahiza and spoke of Mahuza instead of Mahuzauru (Mysore). The place of India whence Habban journeyed to Palestine therefore was Mysore of Dekkan. Habban thus was a Mysorean. And who was his lord Gudnaphar?

Mr. W. R. Philipps says in the previously mentioned *Indian Antiquary* that "We know nothing about Gondophares and his family except what can be learnt as detailed above from coins, from one inscription and from the Acts of Thomas. His date is not yet definitely fixed : his territories are still more or less undefined and his race is still not certain." The Apostolate of Thomas is obscure because theologians study it more as a chapter in the progress of Christianity than as a part of the annals of India. If they find Gudnaphar to be an elusive figure, it is because they have forgotten that his reign is an uncut page of S. Indian history. To learn his story truly that uncut page should be opened. Mr. Philipps has said that a knowledge of the name of the place of India from which Habban went to Palestine would enable us to locate Gudnaphar. We have learnt that that name is Mahuza and I have shown that Mahuza is Mysore. Location of Gudnaphar becomes easy hereafter. For it is natural to expect a king to send on errand a resident of his own land. Gudnaphar and Habban must have belonged to the same kingdom. Since Habban was a Mysorean and since Gudnaphar was Habban's lord, the latter must have been King of Mahuza—King of Mysore. That this is no fanciful conclusion, another version testifies. An Ethiopic text of Thomas' story belonging to Theodore, King of Abyssinia, was secured in 1868. One of the narratives in that text states that when St. Thomas was at Jerusalem "a certain merchant who was from the county

of India.....and his name was Abnes and he was sent from the King of Gona", etc. In this narrative Habban is named Abnes, his country is called "county of India" and his sender (Gudnaphar) is spoken of as King of Gona. Forms found in Latin version are Abban and Abbanes. Since Habban was an Indian, terms Habban, Abban and Abbanes are Appan and Appanna. What is Gona? The occurrence of Kanarese words in the Papyrus of Oxyrhyncus discovered in Egypt permits us to assume the presence of Kanarese-speaking population in that part of the world and the possibility of the occurrence of more Kanarese words in other texts of Africa. Gona in Kanarese (Kona) means precisely what the Sanscrit Mahisha signifies—buffalo and it is from this term that the Tamil word Konan (cattle tender) comes. King of Gona means nothing more than King of Mahisha—King of Mysore. The Ethiopic text thus throws unexpected light upon other versions of the story. For that text through its expressions "Gona" and "county of India" shows that Mr. Medlycott was correct in conjecturing Mahuza to be the illegible word of the Br. Mus. MS.: that I am right in equating Mahuza to the Sanscrit Mahisha and that that (*i.e.*, Ethiopic) text is strictly accurate in referring to Gona as a "county", for Mahuza (Mysore) is but a province of India. When so many texts prove that Gudnaphar was King of Mysore, why do historians view him as a non-Indian king and search for his realm outside the borders of India?

As Gondophares-coins have been recovered in Afghanistan, Punjab, Sind and Seistan and as certain texts state that Parthia fell to the evangelical share of Thomas at the drawing of the lot, historians regard Gudnaphar as a non-Indian king of Parthia who controlled India from there and they are surprised that ancient texts should call him "King of India" and "King of Indians". Dr. Farquhar, Professor of Comparative Religion in the University of Manchester, expresses himself thus in the Bulletin of John Rylands Library for 1926: "These coins and inscriptions have also made it clear that Gudnaphar belonged to a Parthian dynasty and ruled a large part of Parthian domain as well as his great Indian province.....Of the king's Parthian lineage and his Parthian kingdom the author of the Acts of Judas Thomas is totally ignorant." "The facts are these. Gudnaphar was a Parthian king but he ruled in India as well as in Parthia. This is perfectly well known to scholars to-day from the king's own coins and inscriptions. But when we turn to the documents, we find the author of the Acts of Judas Thomas knew that he ruled in India but he did not know that he was a Parthian and ruled in Parthia also, while the Church of Alexandria knew that he was a Parthian king but did not know that he ruled in India also. Each has preserved one-half of the truth; but we with our accurate historical information

can see that the two traditions arose from one historical event." In the first place so far as I know what the Alexandrine tradition says is that Parthia fell to the apostolic share of Thomas and not that Gudnaphar was king of Parthia. Dr. Farquhar does not state whether his statement is an inference or is based upon a definite authority. Whichever it is there are reasons for the introduction of the misunderstood name Parthia in the Alexandrine tradition as will be apparent later on. In the second place however much a sovereign might enlarge his dominion and whatever titles he might add to his name during the course of his reign, he would never fail to call himself after the name of the original land that he got by heritage. He would relinquish his original title only when he relinquishes his hold on the original land that gave him the title. When Victoria, Queen of England, became Empress of India she did not cease to call herself Queen of England, because that title and country were hers by heritage. For the same reason the 1918 rupee-coins style H. M. George V of England as "George V King Emperor". King Emperor here means King of England and Emperor of India. Edessa was much nearer Parthia than Alexandria. If Gudnaphar was really a Parthian King of Parthia who added parts of India to his dominions, would not the Syriac Acts of Thomas call him "King of Parthia" or "King of Parthia and India"? Why does it style him "King of India"?

The fact is this. Instead of looking at the centre, historians are gazing on the circumference. Coins are fashioned round to signify their rolling character and the coins of a king roll to the limits of his kingdom and if the metal out of which they are made is pure, they roll even beyond. In an article published in a former issue of this *journal*, I have shown that the names Gudnaphar and Gondophares are not metathetical forms of one and the same name but two different names that Habban's master bore: have shown which of these two was the king's personal name and which the surname of valour: have given their Tamil equivalents: have suggested where his capital might have been: and have shown in addition how he must have extended his dominion as far as Afghanistan in the north. For further particulars that article may be perused. I may also add here in further support another fact. The term Kantha among other meanings has that of chief. The expression Kantha-raja though borne now as a personal name in Mysore, literally means chief king. No wonder the second narrative of the Ethiopic text calls Gudnaphar who wielded his sceptre from Mysore to Afghanistan Kontoros—Kantharasa—Chief King. The question why the Greek-Pali coins of Gondophares have not been found in Mysore could easily be explained with the reply of a counter question—why are the rupee-coins of the king of

England not found in England? It is because they are meant for circulation in India. If ancient texts call Gudnaphar "King of India" and "King of Indians", it is because he was really an Indian king of a "county" of India and that county I have shown to be Mysore. King Gudnaphar through whose instrumentality the Apostle came to India, therefore, was not a non-Indian king of Afghanistan but an ancient Hindu Mysore Maharaja.

Now Habban went west from his master's kingdom to bring an artificer to build a palace for him in that realm. The place to which the Apostle came was the place from which Habban originally started. Habban's starting point was Mysore. The Apostle came with Habban hence to Gudnaphar's court in Mysore. Afghanistan was (as stated) a part of Mysore in Gudnaphar's time. While Afghanistan adjoins N. India, Mysore lies in S. India. Does a king generally hold his court in the heart of his empire or in its periphery? If Thomas laboured in Gudnaphar's court, would that labour have been in Mysore in the south or in Afghanistan in the north?

The Apostle did not stay permanently in the country of his arrival. Christian tradition makes it perfectly clear that from Gudnaphar he passed on to the land of another king called Mazdai: that he was killed and buried in it and that his grave became a shrine. Shrines are the magnet of pilgrims and they wander from one to another like bees that fly from flower to flower. If ancient writers are believed, it is seen that devotees even from distant parts of Europe like England visited Thomas' shrine in Mazdai's realm in ancient days. These wandering pilgrims of the West seem to have kept alive the European memory of the place of the Saint's tomb in the early ages. But when the intercourse between western Europe and eastern Asia became less and less and pilgrims ceased to wander as a consequence of the rise of the Muhammadan power midway between, though Europe did not forget the tradition of Thomas' labours in the east, yet her remembrance of Mazdai's realm and the place of the Apostle's tomb became fainter and fainter. And as time passed she entirely lost sight of them and the tomb became a tale.

Portuguese adventurers as said at the beginning discovered spots sacred to Thomas in the sixteenth century. The discovery of the Holy Man's tomb in 1517 is as much an undoubted fact as the discovery of the royal personage's coin in 1834. If the locality of Thomas' martyrdom had not remembered the tomb, the adventurers could never have discovered it. Their discovery only proves the persistence of the tradition in India for 1,500 years. For unless those who had been witnesses to the Apostle's martyrdom and the raising of the tomb, had pointed out those places from father to son down through the ages, none in Madras could have informed strangers that a



particular spot of that city was the seat of his tomb. So when in the sixteenth century the guarding Muhammadan Fakir and the Kanara Brahman showed the church and recited the ballad of the Saint to the Portuguese, they but pointed with the finger and sang with the voice of the first century. It was stated before that the impression left by the legend is that Gudnaphar's and Mazdai's countries must have been situated not far from each other. If Mysore was Gudnaphar's kingdom, would Mazdai's country have been far away? An Indian tradition remembers that Mazdai was a fisherman king and the Ethiopic text refers to him as "Matseyos". Matseyos is Matsya, the Sanscrit for fish, and the Matsyas (fishermen) were a great people in ancient times in India. Does not the African testimony point to the correctness of the Indian memory? The Apostle's mission to India and his death in it is as much a psychological problem as a historical one, for it is a tale of Bhakti. The faith of a Bhakta impels him to tread the path of his master and compels him to immolate his life in the way his master did. In the eye of the psychology of Bhakti to tread the path in a different manner and to die in a different way would be no true discipleship. If a man's words reveal him truly John xi. 16 shows Thomas' determination in following in the footsteps of his Master even to the bitter end. To a Bhakta of such a temperament, if he could not meet death in Judea, he will seek it somewhere else. Ancient legend speaks truly therefore when it says that the fisherman king having decided to put the Saint to death ordered his men to "go upon the mountain and stab him" and four soldiers of the king took him and speared him "on the mountain" "outside the city". Later writings call the city of Thomas' martyrdom Calamene or Caramene. Calamene and Caramene are the Tamil Kali-manai and Karai-manai both meaning sea-coast town. Twenty centuries look upon Madras as the place of the Martyr's tomb and that city is a sea-coast one. Would not a fisherman king have his home in a sea-side town and could not Madras be Mazdai's capital since it is a Calamene and the seat of the traditional tomb? A coin rolls but a tomb remains. If Thomas could come as far as Mysore, would it have been difficult for him to go to the sea-king's capital at Madras and die in it for Jesus' sake? And would not the Church of San Thome built in sight of the rolling waves of the blue sea be the Holy Fisherman's tomb as unforgetful tradition avers?

If the Saint came to India, laboured in Mysore and died at Madras, why do some writers mention quite another country as the sphere of his work? This would be a suitable place to say a few words on that aspect of the question. While the Syriac Acts of Thomas and certain writers who depend upon Edessa for their knowledge say that India fell to the

evangelical share of Thomas at the drawing of the lot, a few writers like Origen and Eusebius who depend upon Alexandria for their information state that it was Parthia. Parthia is the mountainous country S.-E. of the Caspian Sea corresponding to the modern province of Korason and it is frequently mentioned in Roman history. Attempts have been made by various investigators to explain the discrepancy between the Edessene and Alexandrine traditions.....Dr. Farquhar (as pointed out before) has tried to reconcile the difference by explaining that while Gudnaphar was king both of Parthia and India, Edessa remembered his kingship of India alone and Alexandria his kingship of Parthia alone and that the tradition of each place contains one-half of the truth. Some others explain the difference in a different way. These think that Parthia might have fallen to Thomas at the drawing of the first lot: that India might have fallen to his share at the second one: that he might have gone and worked in each of these two countries after the drawing of each lot and that the statement of one set of writers does not preclude that of the other. There is another peculiarity. In spite of the solution offered by Dr. Farquhar for the reconciliation of the difference, he is puzzled why, while writers who wrote during the period before the Council of Nicea allot Parthia to Thomas, those who wrote after it allot India to him. Under the heading of "What happened at Nicea" says the doctor in the said Bulletin of John Rylands Library: "But after Nicea every western writer, whether Greek or Latin (.....) and all liturgies and martyrologies say that Thomas went to India, and asks 'How are we to account for the changed conviction?'" It will thus be seen that there is discrepancy not only between Edessene and Alexandrine traditions but also between ante-Nicene and post-Nicene statements. I have already shown that Dr. Farquhar's reconciliation of the difficulty is an untenable one. Since tradition, so far as I could see, seems to have in mind the drawing only one lot for the division of the missionary field, the alternative explanation offered by other writers as well is unsatisfactory. The reason for the difference between the ante-Nicene and post-Nicene statements remains still a mystery. How then could these discrepant statements be explained? The clue to the solution of the difficulty lies in the very equation (post-Nicene India=ante-Nicene Parthia) that looks a puzzle to Dr. Farquhar.

Now the most ancient and famous name of India is Baratha country. The name is written in Tamil as Paratha country. The origin and early history of Parthia is shrouded in fable but its inhabitants are mentioned as Parthava in the inscriptions of Darius. Historians derive the name Parthia from Parthava of the inscriptions. The word Parthia has no connection with Parvatha, mountain. Darius' Parthava is the Tamil Parathava—people of

Paratha country. The name Parthia hence means Parathava. Historians have not yet realized what was the true origin of the Parthian kingdom of Roman history: why the ruling dynasty of that kingdom called itself the Arsacid: why such Indian sounding names like Arsaces (Arasaka), Priapatius (Priavrita), Phraates (Parata), Mithradates (Mitradata), Tiridates (Tirudata), Cinnamus (Chennama), Gotarzes (Koduarasu), Vardanes (Varadan), Vologeses (Ulagesa), etc., were borne by some of the rulers of the Arsacid dynasty and why the members of the ruling family of a province (Mysore) of ancient Paratha country still style themselves as Arasus (kings)? These savants are not aware that the term Parthia is a later westernized form of the ancient name Paratha and that the younger kingdom of Parthia that held the Roman at bay in the East was but a little extended finger of aged Paratha Nadu. Though this is not the place to discuss these fascinating questions, let me state here that it is this term Paratha that has been responsible for the introduction of the misunderstood word Parthia into the Alexandrine tradition of Thomas' story much to the confusion of later investigators.

"Our accurate historical information" spoken of by Dr. Farquhar instead of making us see clearer has only blinded us to the truth of many an ancient statement. Paratha and India are synonymous terms: the former is the older and the latter the later name of the land lying between the Himalayas and Cape Comorin. The very fact that every post-Nicene writer, liturgy and martyrology designates as India, Thomas' evangelical field called Parthia by ante-Nicene writers, shows that the older name Paratha was known in the West. In these circumstances when writers like Origen or Eusebius say that Parthia fell to the share of Thomas they mean nothing more than that Paratha (India) fell to his lot. Christianity before and after the great Council of Nicea was not the same: after that council its centre of gravity shifted to Europe and Christianity became Europeanized. The old name Paratha of India lingered in the West in some quarters like Alexandria till the Council of Nicea. In the meanwhile the older mother-country of Paratha had receded into the background and like the flickering of a dying flame her younger daughter-country of Parthia had come into prominence. To use the name Paratha (westernized form of which was Parthia) when referring to the mother-country (India) would create confusion owing to the rise of the daughter-kingdom (Parthia). So with the Europeanization of Christianity after the Council of Nicea the newer name India (popularized by the historians of Alexander the Great) came into vogue. There was no change of conviction: there was only a change from the less familiar to the more familiar name to avoid confusion. There is thus no disagreement between the Edessene and Alexandrine traditions or between the ante-Nicene and

post-Nicene statements. All these but refer to one and the same hoary land that is watered by the sacred rivers of the Ganges and the Kavery. John xi. 16 is a revelation of the early stages of Thomas' mental determination to follow his Master and the tradition (that he went to India and was martyred in Calamene) is the exhibition of the final fruition of that mental determination. Will sand allow itself to be twisted into rope? Unless the tradition were true would the facts of the Asiatic, African and European versions of that tradition fall in order to combine with one another harmoniously? No wonder the Syriac "Doctrine of the Apostles" states that the Saint wrote letters to the West from India and the mosaics of St. Mark's Baptistery in Venice portray Thomas with a turban on his head to symbolize the crown of his Indian martyrdom.

Mr. Philipps, it will be remembered, observed that while the Latin version gives no name, the Greek says "apo tees Indias". Nothing reveals truth so much as a graphic representation of it. So let me re-write briefly the statements of the existing texts to see what picture they present to the eye. The Greek says that Habban came from the Indies (India). The Ber. and Camb. MSS. say that Habban came from the Dekkan (the south country). The Br.Mus.MS. says that Habban came from Mysore (Mahuza). Indies—Dekkan—Mysore. Does not each text support the other in a remarkable way and does not the name of each text specify the locality more precisely than the previous one? If the place of the Apostle's arrival was the place of the merchant's departure, is the existing evidence insufficient to show that Thomas came to S. India. If John (xi. 16) had truly reported his friend's determination, is additional evidence necessary to prove that he won his crown of martyrdom in that S. India? The heart remembers what the head forgets. Let learned savants chasing rolling coins search in northern Parthian land for the footprints of Thomas but humble devotees kneeling in southern Parathan country wet with the Apostle's blood will pray beside his tomb there, for heart's memory is a tablet the writings of which Time cannot efface. And the vespers that rise over the tomb in the Church of San Thome remind us how Thomas bore his Master's Cross from Jerusalem to Madras and left it there to rejoin him.

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# THE INFLUENCE OF THE RELIGIOUS SCHOOL OF SRI MADHWA ON THE HISTORY OF VIJAYANAGARA.

BY S. HANUMANTHA RAO, ESQ., M.A., L.T.

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SRI MADHWA was the founder of the Dwaita school of philosophy, one of the three Brahminical systems prevalent in South India. His period was the thirteenth century and his place of birth was near Mangalore on the west coast. He travelled all over India to spread his doctrine.<sup>1</sup> He died in 1318 and just about that time the Deccan was invaded by the Muhammadans. He had four important disciples who followed him in pontifical succession. They seem to have migrated southwards. Two of them, Padmanabha Tirtha and Narahari Tirtha, left Telingana and arrived at Anegundi.

Anegundi is regarded as the parent city of Vijayanagara and was ruled by Jambukeswara Raya from 1297 to 1324. To the east and south of it flows the river Tungabhadra. To the south of the river are the famous ruins of Hampi, the present name of the former Vijayanagara.<sup>2</sup> There is a small island, splitting the Tungabhadra into two branches, near Anegundi, where we find an enclosure with nine Brindavanas or tombs in it. By the side of it is a big cave where the saints are said to have spent their time in meditation.

Padmanabha Tirtha was the pontifical successor of Sri Madhwa and held office from 1318 to 1324 A.D. He was a great scholar and wrote a commentary on Sri Madhwa's *Anuvyakhya*, known as *Sanyaya Ratnavali*. He started a separate line of monastic succession which is now known as Sri Pada Raya Mutt. The present headquarters of this Mutt is at Mula-bagal, in the Kolar District of the Mysore Province. The earthly remains of Padmanabha Tirtha were laid in the Brindavana on this island. Narahari Tirtha succeeded Padmanabha and held office from 1324 to 1333. About a mile from the island of the nine tombs, towards the Hampi village, is another rock island in the middle of the river. There is the tomb or Brindavana of Narahari Tirtha. He was a minister at Kalinga for some time and brought the images of Rama and Sita and gave them to Sri Madhwa. These images are now under worship by the present pontiff of the Uttradi Mutt.

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<sup>1</sup> See *Journal of the Madras University*, Vol. I, No. 1, and Vol. 2, No. 1. "Life and Times of Sri Madhwa".

<sup>2</sup> See *Guide to Hampi* by Longhurst.

There is a temple consecrated to Hanuman in the village of Narayana-devarakere near by. It is believed that Narahari Tirtha consecrated this temple.

Narahari Tirtha is also regarded as the founder of the Dasakuta among the followers of Madhwa. This is a school of devotees who revel in divine music. There are a few Kanarese psalms of Narahari Tirtha and they are published in the collections of Madhwa psalms.

Next in chronological order is the Brindavana of Kavindra Tirtha, 1392 to 1399. He was the eighth pontiff in the succession list commencing from Sri Madhwa. Harihara the Second was the ruling king of Vijayanagara and his famous minister Muddappa Dandanayaka was the patron of this saint Kavindra. His Brindavana is situated to the west of Padmanabha Tirtha's.

Vagesa Tirtha was the successor of Kavindra Tirtha and held office from 1399 to 1407. He was a scholar who wrote glosses on *Pramana Paddhati* and *Tatwodyota*. His Brindavana is on the northern side.

The most important of the Brindavanas is that of Sri Vyasaraya, the ecclesiastical adviser of Krishnadevaraya. He held pontifical office from 1467 to 1539.<sup>1</sup> He was a great scholar and wrote several glosses on the commentaries of Sri Madhwa. His place in the history of Vijayanagara is described in full detail in the English introduction to the *Life of Sri Vyasaraya* by poet Somanatha. His Brindavana is covered with artistic panels, with figures of elephants on them. On the four sides of the tomb are reliefs of Balakrishna, Vithala, Lakshminarasimha and Sitaramachandra with Lakshmana and Hanuman. The ruins of the Balakrishna temple and the Vithala temple bear testimony to the influence of Vyasaraya at the court of Krishnadevaraya. There are several temples in the neighbourhood consecrated by Vyasaraya, the most important being that of the Yantroddharaka Hanuman on the banks of the river, near Hampi village. There are several Kanarese songs of Vyasaraya and they are very popular in the Kanarese country. The fame of Vyasaraya attracted the pontiffs of the other monasteries also to Vijayanagara. Raghunandana, the third pontiff of the Raghavendra Mutt and Raghuvarya, the thirteenth pontiff of the Uttradi Mutt, came to Vijayanagara. About a mile and a half from the nine Brindavanas towards the Hampi village on the banks of the river is the Brindavana of Raghunandana. Opposite the Brindavana is a rare image of Hanuman with four hands. Two hands hold the *Chakra* and *Sankha*. One hand holds a book, the symbol of Madhwa and another holds the Gada, the symbol of Bhima. Raghunandana held office from 1497 to 1533.

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<sup>1</sup> See *Life of Vyasaraja* by B. Venkoba Rao. (M. S. Rao & Co., Bangalore City.)

Raghuvarya held office from 1502 to 1557 and his Brindavana is also near that of Vyasaraya.

Vyasaraya had two disciples, Srinivasa Tirtha and Govinda Wadeyar. Srinivasa succeeded him in pontifical office and held it from 1539 to 1559. He wrote a biography of his master known as *Vyasa Vijaya*.

Govinda Wadeyar did not hold office but was only an ordinary monk. He is said to be the poet Somanatha who composed the biography of Vyasaraya. The Brindavanas of these two disciples are near by in the same enclosure.

Srinivasa Tirtha was succeeded in pontifical office by Rama Tirtha who held office from 1559 to 1588. His is the eighth Brindavana. The ninth and the last in chronological order is that of Sudhindra, the predecessor of the famous Raghavendra, who held office from 1595 to 1623.

From 1324 to 1623, Vijayanagara patronized this school of religion. For a long time after the battle of Talikota, it was possible for these saints to continue their residence at Vijayanagara. To the present day, the followers of these saints observe their memorial days and gather in large numbers on those days. Their names have a stronger hold on the imagination of the people than even the names of their kings.

## Genealogical Table to explain the above Article.

**Sri Madhwa**, d. 1183 A.D.

(1) Padmanabha, d. 1324 A.D.

(10) Narahari, d. 1333 A.D.

Madhawa

Akshobhya

Jayatirtha

Vidyadhiraja

(2) Kavindra, d. 1399 A.D.

Rajendra

(3) Vagesa d. 1407 A.D.

Jayadhwaja

Ramachandra

Purushottama

Brahmanya

Vidyanidhi

Vibhudendra

(4) **Vyasara**, d. 1539 A.D.

Raghunatha

Jitamitra

(6) Srinivasa, d. 1559 A.D.

(5) Raghuvarya, d. 1557 A.D. (Uttradi Mutt)

(11) Raghunandana, d. 1533 A.D.

(7) Srirama, d. 1588 A.D. (Vyasara Mutt)

Surendra

Vijayendra

(8) Sudhindra, d. 1623 A.D.

**Raghavendra**

(Raghavendra Mutt)

(9) Govinda was an ordinary monk who did not hold pontifical office.



# SVETASVATAROPANISHAD.

English Metrical Translation with Explanatory Notes.

BY D. VENKATRAMIAH, ESQ., B.A., L.T.

## FIFTH DISCOURSE.

1. In the Imperishable Brahman Great,  
That Eternal Lord, that mysterious Self, there dwell  
Knowledge and ignorance both ; 'tis ignorance  
For sure doth perish, knowledge for ev'r perdues ;  
And He is distinct who ordains them both.

This discourse purports to teach :—

- i. That Paramesvara, the Absolute, is the substratum of both knowledge and nescience,
  - ii. The nature of knowledge and nescience,
  - iii. The overlordship of Isvara and his aloofness from knowledge and nescience.
- अक्षरे-न क्षरतीत्यक्षरं—that which does not perish, Isvara who is eternal ; *Cp.* यदक्षं वेदविदो  
वदन्ति—*Gita*, viii. 11.

ब्रह्मपरे is परब्रह्मणि—the transposition is Vedic usage. The phrase may also be construed  
as ब्रह्मणः परं, तस्मिन्—in one who is above Hiranyagarbha (ब्रह्म).

तु-अवधारणार्थः—emphatic.

अनन्ते-अद्वितीये—one to limit which there is nothing else ; the Absolute.

निहिते-स्थिते—placed ; the manifestation of both knowledge and ignorance (विद्याऽविद्ये)  
is dependent upon the Absolute which is their substratum. Brahman is the  
ground of right knowledge as well as error. विद्या is ātmajñāna leading to  
*Moksha* and अविद्या is ātmajñāna the cause of *samsara*.

गूढे—in Brahman whose blissful nature is hidden from the human senses.

Isvara who controls both knowledge and ignorance is however untouched by either, सोऽन्यः.

2. And He the one Eternal Lord impels  
Each and all the germs to fructify,  
Subsists in all the myriad shapes and forms ;  
Endows His first begotten son, the sage  
Of golden hue with knowledge infinite  
And witness bears forsooth to the seer's birth.

The aim of this verse is to show that the Brahman is immanent in all entities representing the several stages in the process of world-creation, the first of these being Hiranyagarbha. The use of the word 'Kapila' has given rise to much controversy, some taking it to mean the author of the *Samkhya* doctrine, some, the Rishi who burnt up the sons of Sagara and others Hiranyagarbha.

The last view seems to fit in with the context and further has the support of Sankara who, while commenting on this very passage in *Bṛh. Sū.*, ii. 1-1, specifically controverts the position that the author of the *Samkhya* system is meant here.

यो, योनिं योनिं अधितिष्ठति—He who inheres in everything that serves as a generating cause.

This is to make clear that insentience, *jada*, like the *pradhana* of the *Samkhyas* is not the cause of the Universe. Another way of construing the phrase is

योऽयोनिं योनिं—which means that Parabrahma is the ground of the beginningless *Maya*, since it is His power that supports its existence and manifestation (स्वरूप-स्फुरणप्रदत्वेन).

योनीश्च सर्वाः—all the subsidiary causes like ether, wind, etc.

विश्वानि रूपाणि—the manifold objects of creation.

ज्ञानैर्विभर्ति—वेद तदर्थपरिज्ञानैः—Isvara first taught the Vedas and their import to Hiranyagarbha from whom they have come down to mankind.

3. He casts his net in diverse ways and brings  
To view unnumbered beings at creation's dawn,  
Withdraws them all into the magic gulf  
At last ; again creates the hierarchs great  
While He the Lord his sovereign sway doth hold.

पुरुषमत्स्यानां बन्धनत्वात् जालवज्जालं—*Samsara* is as it were a net in which are caught the human fish ; ' जाल ' may also mean महेन्द्रजालं, the mighty illusion.

एकैकं—each one separately अन्तःकरणसमष्टिरूपं, प्राणिसमष्टिरूपं etc. The Lord creates the different aggregate constituents of life, such as of the senses, breaths, etc., and then the individual existences ; or this may refer to different classes of beings—gods, men, beasts, etc.

बहुधा विकुर्वन्—bringing into existence an infinite variety of beings in accordance with the law of *Karma*.

अस्मिन्मायात्मके क्षेत्रे—in this region of *Maya*.

संहरति—destroys. At *pralaya* the whole creation is withdrawn into *Maya* where it resides in a latent or germinal form and springs up again at creation—a process which goes on eternally.

पतयः—हिरण्यगर्भप्रमुखान्—the chief deities like Hiranyagarbha. Note that the nominative is used for the objective.

4. As the Sun in his radiance beams and fills with light  
The quarters all and eke the spaces—up  
And down and athwart, e'en so the shining Lord  
The opulent and worshipful, the Lone  
Rules all from which the worlds do germinate.

अनड्वान्—आदित्यः—the Sun.

योनिस्वभावान्—कारणभूतान् पृथिव्यादीन्—the five elements from which the worlds emerge.

अधितिष्ठति—नियमयति—rules, regulates. Isvara directs the elements being their inner Self.

'योनिः स्वभावान्' is another reading ;

योनिः—Isvara is the cause of the Universe.

खभावान्—i. खभावभूतान् पृथिव्यादीन्—elements, such as earth born of Him.

ii. वियत्प्रमुखान् अणुपर्यन्तान्, हिरण्यगर्भप्रभृतीन् स्तंबपर्यन्तान्—from ether down to an atom, from Hiranyagarbha down to an insect.

5. 'Tis Isvara the universal source

Helps on the growth of beings and thus matures

Them all that they their destined end may reach ;

'Tis He, the Being sole sustains this all

'Tis He from whom the impulses take their start.

Here is described how, under the guidance of Isvara, the gradual and orderly evolution of the Universe takes place and how the innate tendencies in man—goodness सत्त्व, passion रजस्, and ignorance तमस्—begin to manifest themselves.

‘यच्च’ for यश्च—neuter for masculine.

खभाव—भूतानां रूपं—the nature of things.

पचति—पक्वं करोति—matures.

पाच्यंश्च—पाकयोग्यान्, पृथिव्यादीन्—the elements, such as earth, etc., which by their nature are fit for differentiation.

परिणामयेत्—transforms ; *lit.* may transform.

गुणान्—सत्त्वरजस्तमोगुणान्—the three constituents of *prakṛti*, viz. goodness, passion and ignorance or darkness.

विनियोजयेत्—assigns, allots. These primary impulses are made to develop in man in greater or less degree in accordance with his previous *Karma*, *Cp. Gita*, xiv. 5.

6. The Lord lies hid in the depths of the Upanishads

Enshrined in which is all the Vedic truth,

And Him Hiranyagarbha knows as the fount

Of the sacred lore. Those Gods and Rishis who

Of yore did comprehend his Self for sure

Became His very Self and conquered death.

What is it that is taught in this *Mantra* ?

i. That Paramesvara is to be sought in the mystic passages of the Vedanta,

ii. That He is the source of the Scriptures,

iii. That Gods like Hiranyagarbha and Rishis like Vamadeva knew Him as their very selves,

iv. That liberation means the realization of the unity of *atman* with the Absolute.

वेदगुह्योपनिषत्सु—hidden in the Upanishads which teach the essence of the Vedas.

ब्रह्मा—हिरण्यगर्भः—Hiranyagarbha, the *Sūtratman*.

वेदते—जानाति—आत्मतया साक्षात् करोति—realizes the identity of his self with the Absolute ;

*Cp. वेदैश्च सर्वैरहमेव वेद्यो वेदान्तकृद्वेदविदेव चाहम् — Gita*, xv. 15.

ब्रह्मयोनि—वेदकारणं—the author of the Vedas.

तन्मया—as the very nature of That, the Absolute.

वै—indicates assurance on the authority of the Scriptures, reason and experience.

7. Who finds his deeds of by-gone births have left  
Their trail, who's merged in acts that yield their fruit  
And who enjoys what he himself has wrought  
He is indeed of myriad forms, engirt  
By gunas three; and three again his paths;  
The Lord of life, he roams impelled by his deeds.

There is a departure here. Having set forth the nature of Isvara, the Lord of all creation the *Śruti* now turns to the description of the individual soul—*jīva*, and to begin with it is pointed out that by itself the *jīva* is not the agent and experiencer of joys and sorrows but that its association with the body and the senses seems to invest it with the faculty of doing and enjoying.

गुणान्वयः—गुणपरवशस्सन् फलार्थस्य कर्मणः कर्ता—as the result of his *Karma* the individual engages in acts which in turn yield their fruit. The gunas are *satvam*, *rajas* and *tamas*. The preponderance of *satvam* in one's act leads to *Moksha*, of *rajas* to *Svarga* and of *tamas* to *Naraka*.

कृतस्य-कर्मफलस्य....., he who does a particular act must be prepared to accept the consequences of that act.

विश्वरूपः—of many shapes, because one's deeds determine what existence one should take on—he may be born a god, a man or a beast.

त्रिगुणः—काम क्रोध लोभाख्यास्त्रयो गुणाः, यस्य सः—he in whom are found desire, anger and covetousness.

त्रिवर्त्मा—who may take any of the three paths, that of the gods—*देवयान*, that of the manes—*पितृयान*, and what in the Upanishads is described as *तृतीयं स्थानं*  
*Cp. Chand., v. 10-8.*

प्राणाधिपः—overlord of the body with its senses.

संचरति for संचरते (Vedic).

8. Of the size of the thumb and luminous as the Sun  
He is and firmly linked to mind and self;  
'Tis intellect's traits reflected in Atman pure  
By which alone the soul appears as small  
As the lancet end and inferior to the Lord.

The individual soul retains the characteristics of the Supreme Self which in reality it is though hedged round by imperfections due to *avidya*.

अङ्गुष्ठमात्रः—the *jīva* is considered to be of the size of a thumb, because the heart which is of that dimension is the seat of consciousness. Our awareness of the self is referred to the heart. Hence the comparison.

रवितुल्य रूपः—of the same resplendent nature as the Sun; the *jīva* is of the nature of the light of knowledge.

संकल्पाऽहंकारसमन्वितः—Because the *jīva* is limited by the mind and the notion of ego, it is described as being endowed with the qualities of mind and ego, *viz.*, thought and self-consciousness; मन उपाधित्वात् तद्धर्म संकल्प समन्वितः, अहंकारोपाधित्वात् तद्धर्म अभिमान समन्वितः

बुद्धेर्गुणेनात्मगुणेनचैव ; बुद्धेर्गुणेन-बुद्धिगुणनिमित्तेन, आत्मनि-स्वस्मिन्नध्यस्तगुणेन (आराग्रमात्रत्वं, अवतरत्वं, न तु स्वतः) —The intellect transfers, as it were, its own limitations to the *atman*; hence minuteness and inferiority are attributed to the *atman* and not by its own nature. Because the *atman* is superimposed by *buddhi*, the latter's finiteness and inferiority (as compared with *Parabrahma*) are transferred to the former.

The Commentators construe *buddhiguna* and *atmaguna* separately and thereby miss the significance of the thought contained in the *mantra*. Cp. *Sankara-Bhashya* on *Brh. Sut.*, ii. 3-29., where this very passage is quoted in support of the position that the apparent limitations of the individual self are the outcome of our ignorant attribution of the characteristics of the intellect to the *atman*.

आराग्रमात्रः—the *jiva* is infinitesimally small like the end of a lancet.

अवरः—महाकाशशायनीय परमेश्वरापेक्षया—the *jiva* is lower than *Paramesvara* who is vast and unlimited like ether. 'अपरः' is another reading.

9. A hair's end chopped into hundred parts and each  
Such part again into one hundred parts,  
Of the size of that minutest part is the soul,  
Just so is it to be known, albeit this soul  
Is destined sure to attain the eternal Self.

Since it is physically impossible to divide the tip of a hair into ten thousand parts, we have to understand that the *jiva* is unimaginably small having for its vesture the *sukshmasarira* or the subtle body. But when it is freed from its *Upadhi*, it attains its own real nature—the eternal state of the Absolute.

10. Nor woman he is nor man nor impotent  
Whate'er corporeal form he takes, with that  
Corporeal form the Self his kindred claims.

Because the *jiva* is by its nature one with the Absolute, the distinctions of sex do not pertain to it. Due to *avidya* it enters bodies of one sex or the other and identifies itself with them.

रक्ष्यते—संरक्ष्यते ; तद्धर्मानात्मन्यध्यस्याभिमन्यते, स्थूलोऽहं, कृणोऽहं, पुरुषोऽहं, स्त्रियहं, नपुंसकोऽहं, इति—The individual soul identifying itself with the body in which it has found its lodgment, mistakes the bodily characteristics to belong to itself. Hence such notions as 'I am stout', 'I am lean', 'I am a male', 'I am a female', 'I am sterile', etc.

11. With thought and touch and sight and delusion sweet  
And copious food and drink the *jiva* has  
His birth and growth ; in truth the embodied soul  
His varied shapes and varied forms assumes  
In harmonious sequence of his former deeds.

Now is assigned the reason for the *atman*'s taking on a body and acquiring the special characteristics of *samsara*. One life determines the other. Upon our thoughts, desires and conduct

depends the form of life which we have to assume in a future birth. We are architects of our own fate. This is what the first half of the *mantra* means and the second half is only a more explicit statement of the same idea. Closely following one's *Karma* one is born either as a god if one's deeds are good, as a beast if they are sinful ; if, on the other hand, one's good and bad deeds are evenly balanced, one is born a mortal.

The alternative readings of some of the words are :—

होमैः for मोहैः ; आत्मविवृद्धिजन्मा for आत्मविवृद्धिजन्म ; अभिसंप्रपद्ये for अभिसंप्रपद्यते.

मंकल्पन स्पर्शन दृष्टिमोहैः—by thought, touch and passion (होमैः—हस्तव्यापारैः—manual acts in connection with sacrifices). These generate good or bad effects.

प्रासाम्बुवृष्ट्या—(प्रस्यते इति प्रासः, अन्नं ; अम्बु, पानीयं, तयोः वृष्टिः, यावत्क्षुत्तृष्णा निर्गमनं प्रस पानरूपा, तया) *i.e.*, with sufficient food and drink to quench hunger and thirst.

आत्मविवृद्धिजन्म—आत्मनः, जीवस्य, विवृद्धि, विविधा वृद्धिः, जन्मच—the birth and growth of the *jiva*.

Such acts as these lead to a variety of births ranging from Hiranyagarbha down to an insect (हिरण्यगर्भादि स्तम्बपर्यन्तासु येनिषु जन्म)

कर्मानुगानि—कर्म, धर्माधर्मरूपं, तेन नियम्यमानानि—as the inevitable consequence of one's good and bad deeds.

अभिसंप्रपद्यते—संप्राप्नोति—gets, assumes.

All the species and genera in the Universe are the outcome of nescience worked out in unbroken sequence by *Karma*.

12. The *jiva* then his manifold forms assumes  
Both large and small by his own nature fixed ;  
The works that one has done, the self that one  
Hath reared—'tis these that yoke the spirit to life  
As found in this or in the future births.

The idea contained in the previous stanza is here emphasized. Not only a man's thoughts and deeds of the precedent life but all the mental and spiritual experiences gained in his evolution through numberless past lives are the determining factors of his present life.

स्थूलानि रूपाणि—अश्मादीनि रूपाणि—objects like rocks, or हस्त्यादीनि—elephants, etc.

सूक्ष्माणि रूपाणि—subtle objects ; objects like ether, light, or मशकादि शरीराणि—gnats, etc.

स्वगुणैः—विहितप्रतिषिद्ध विषयानुभवसंस्कारैः—by all that goes to make one's character as the result of one's performance of prescribed and proscribed deeds.

वृणाति—संभजते—possesses, assumes.

The latter half of the *mantra* means that the Self enters on its endless births as determined by one's innate qualities and one's overt acts.

13. Without beginning, without end, the Lord  
Remains amidst this vasty gloom profound,  
Creator of the Universe, of forms  
Innumerable, the Being sole and He  
This all enfolds ; who knows this Light Divine  
Shall extricate his self from all the bonds.

Having related the nature of the individual self in 7-12, the Upanishad reverts to the description of the Supreme Reality and points the way to liberation. This *mantra* is nearly the same in language and import as iv. 14. *Cp.* also iii. 7.

14. 'Tis the pure of heart to whom the Lord reveals  
His Self, He who hath neither home nor name,  
The world-creator and the world-destroyer  
Divinity benignant, in whom the arts  
And sciences have their birth ; who know this Being  
Of light, they quit the mortal frame for e'er.

भावग्राह्यं—भावेन, विशुद्धान्तःकरणेन, गृह्यते—He who is understood by the pure in heart.

अनीडाख्यं—i. नीडं, स्थानं ; आख्या, अभिधानं ; ते नीडाख्ये, अस्य न विद्येते इति—who has  
neither home nor name.

ii. अशरीराख्यं—known as the bodiless.

Sankarananda has अनिलाख्यं for अनीडाख्यं, meaning 'known by the name of Breath',  
on the authority of the Scripture 'प्राणस्यप्राणं'; but this reading spoils the rhythm.

भावाभावकरं—सृष्टिलयकारणं—who is the cause of the creation and destruction of the worlds.

The phrase is also explained as 'अविद्यातत्कार्यविनिर्मुक्तं'—who is untouched by  
nescience and its products.

कलासर्गकरं—i. The originator of the Vedas and all the different branches of knowledge.

ii. स्वमायया शक्या समस्तभूतसर्गकरं—who causes the birth of all beings by  
his own *mayic* power.

iii. The originator of the sixteen *Kalas* mentioned in '*Prasnopanishad*.'

जुहुस्तनुम्—give up the body, *i.e.*, they cast off for ever the bodily vesture ; they become  
immortal.

# STUDIES IN DRAVIDIC LINGUISTICS.

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## Initial Front Nasals of Dravidian.

*I. General.*—Initially, the following nasal sounds are met with in Dravidian: *n*, *ɳ*, *ɳ̃*, and *m*<sup>1</sup>; the cerebral *ɳ* and the velar *ɳ* do not occur initially in Dravidian words.

The bilabial *m*<sup>2</sup> is conspicuous in *all* the dialects of Dravidian, in initial positions.

Of the other nasals *n* appears to be common initially in all the dialects except Malayālam which has *ɳ*<sup>3</sup> instead uniformly in initial positions. The sound *n* occurs initially far more numerously than *ɳ̃* in Tam. and Mal.

*ɳ̃* occurs in initial positions in Tamil and Malayālam only.

The object of this paper is to discuss how far these sounds may be considered to be original in the various dialects.

Before doing so, it would be desirable to define the exact values of these sounds in the various dialects.

### *II. Character of the Nasal Consonants:*

*n*:—This is a tongue-tip sound in all the dialects; but the nature of the sound may vary with the exact point of production on the mouth-roof.

In none of the dialects is a sound produced by the tip of the tongue at the teeth.

The point of production on the mouth-roof may vary anywhere from the post-dental region to the alveolar portion of the mouth. In Jespersen's notation the sound may be anything between  $\beta_{of}$  to  $\beta_{og}^{-h}$ .

In Tamil, I have noted that it is ordinarily well behind  $\beta_{of}$  though individual peculiarities do occur. Tamil appears to have had both *n* and *ɳ̃* formerly, as the separate symbols denote; but the modern dialect gives the value of *n* to both symbols.

The Telugu sound, so far as I can see, does not differ from the Tamil sound.

In Malayālam the sound is distinctly alveolar, produced between the two positions  $\beta_{og}$  and  $\beta_{oh}$ .

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<sup>1</sup> The symbols used correspond respectively to I.P.A. [n], [ɳ], [ɳ̃] and [m].

<sup>2</sup> Initial *m* in Dravidian forms the subject of a separate paper of mine. The history of this lip-nasal is as interesting as that of the Front (Palatal, etc.) Nasals.

<sup>3</sup> *ɳ̃* is a true dental sound answering to the plosive *ɽ* of the Indian sound-lists. For a detailed description of the sound and its incidence in Mal., vide my *Brief Account of Malayālam Phonetics* (p. 14).



So far as the minor dialects are concerned, the minute distinctions have so far not been noted ; but it would appear that in none of these dialects the point of production reaches the dental or post-dental region on the one hand, or goes beyond the alveolar region on the other.

*ñ*:—Two different varieties of this sound have been distinguished by Jespersen<sup>1</sup>:—

(a) the sound produced by the fore-blade resting on the mouth-roof in the *prepalatal* region as in Italian *ogni*, etc.

(b) the sound produced by the middle blade resting on the post-palatal, pre-cæcuminial region as in French.

In Tamil—Malayāḷam initial *ñ*, the point of production is distinctly prepalatal (sometimes even *βof*) and the fore-blade alone comes into operation, while Mal. *ñ* in the consonant group *ñj* or *ñc*, the post-palatal middle-blade variety is often produced.<sup>2</sup>

*ñ*:—This sound which occurs initially in Malayāḷam uniformly for the *n* of other dialects is produced with the fore-blade well spread out on the dental and post-dental regions, and corresponds to *t*, *d* of Indian languages. In the consonant groups *ñd* and *ñt*, the middle blade is *spread out* on the alveolar region and then the dental is produced. (The difference between this variety of *ñ* and the second variety of *ñ* mentioned above, is that in the latter there is only mere contact of a small portion of the blade of the tongue while in the former the tongue-blade is *spread out*.)

III. *ñ* and *ñ*.—Malayāḷam *ñ* initially and in other positions is clearly secondary, being produced from *n*.

As for initial *ñ*,<sup>3</sup> the following facts are significant:—

(a) This sound initially is peculiar to the Tamil-Malayāḷam group, its cognate in other dialects being represented by *n*;

(b) Even in these two dialects, there are alternative forms with *n* and *ñ*, in which the latter should be regarded as closely connected with *n* (*vide infra*).

We shall illustrate these points:

(a) Tamil-Mal.	Cf.
<i>naṇḍu</i> , <i>ñāṇḍu</i> (crab)	Tel. <i>eṇḍi</i>
Tam. <i>nān</i> , Mal. <i>ñān</i> (I)	an, <i>nān</i> , etc.
Tam.-Mal. <i>ñāru</i> (seedlings)	Tel.-Kan. <i>nār</i>
Tam. <i>neruṅgu</i> , Mal. <i>ñeruṅgu</i> (to be squeezed)	Southn. <i>iṇṇuṅgu</i> (to be squeezed)

<sup>1</sup> Vide Jespersen's *Lehrbuch der Phonetik*, pp. 43, 44.

<sup>2</sup> Vide my *Brief Account of Malayāḷam Phonetics*, page 14.

<sup>3</sup> Santālī *ñ* (initial and medial) is a middle-blade variety (P. O. Bodding's *Materials for a Santālī Grammar*, I, page 42),

(a) *Tamil-Mal.*

Cf.

Tam. *neḷi*, Mal. *ñeḷi* (to wriggle)  
 Tam. *ñāḷudal* (to flow); *ñāṇ* (rope)

*eḷ-agu* (to move)  
 the base *al-* (to sway, to flow) in  
*al-ai*, *āl*, etc. Cf. Kan. *nāri* (cord),  
*nāṇ* (rope)

*ñāyiru* (the sun); *ñāndru* (time, day)

The various forms<sup>1</sup> with *a*-or *æ*-basis  
 in many dialects.

Tam. *ñimirdal* (to be raised)

Kan. *egaru*

Tam. *ñegilī* (firewood, fire)

*a-*, *æy*

Tam. *ñaral*, *naral* (to sound, make  
 noise)

*er-ai* (to make noise), *ār-* (to cry  
 out)

Tam. *ñāṅgar* (place, there)

*aṅge* (there)

Tam. *ñā-ttal* (to adhere, to tie) }

*aḍ-* (to be attached)

Tam. *ñāḷpu* (crowd, group) }

Tam. *nāḍ*, *ñāḍ* (country)

Tel.-Kan. *nāḍ*

Tam. *ñāy* (mother)

*āyi* (mother)

Tam. *ñāl* (to hang)

*al-* (to move); *āl* (to swing)

Tam. *ñāl* (musical instrument)

....

Tam. *nāru*, *ñāru* (to smell)

cf. *aṛ-* (to be cut, be within, to feel)

Tam. *nimir*, *ñimir* (to be erect)

cf. *egaru*

Tam. *ñegilī* (fire, firebrand, fuel)

cf. base *næ-* (fire)

It may at once be observed here that among the Tamil-Malayalam forms with initial *ñ*-, *n*- given above, constituting a large majority of typical instances in this group, two classes may be recognized:

(i) those which appear to be peculiar to the Tam.-Mal. group and do not (so far as we can ascertain) have cognates with initial *n*- in the other dialects; and

(ii) those which do have cognates with initial *n*- not only in the southern dialects like Kannada and Telugu but also in the central and northern dialects.

This distinction will be important when we have to refer to two classes of instances in explaining the probable origin of initial *n*- and *ñ*-.

In each of the above groups of words, the semantic relationship between the form with *n*-, *ñ*- and that with the initial vowel only, is more or less clear, while a structural connection can also be postulated and proved as shown below.

There remain, however, a very small number of Tam.-Mal. instances with initial *ñ*-, *n*-, whose etymologies cannot be decisively worked out. A

<sup>1</sup> Vide my discussion of *ñāyiru* (the sun) in the *Calcutta University Journal of Letters* Vol. XX.

prominent instance is Tamil *namali*, *ñemali* meaning 'peacock', 'toddy', 'dog'. The meaning 'peacock' is possessed by the southern cognates also:

Telugu—*emme*, *emali*, *nemali*.

Kannāḍa—*navilu*, *navali*, *navule*.

Tuḷu—*navil*.

The explanation of this form which appears to be peculiar to the south is not easy.

There is another word *mayil* in Tamil, meaning 'peacock' which has a Gōṇḍi cognate *mal* and a Tuḷu representative *mairu*. The question of the native character of Tamil *mayil* is a thorny one in view of the occurrence in Indo-Aryan of *mayūkha*, *mayura* and in Indian Austric of *marak*.

Yet the Dravidologist would (perhaps too naively) suggest that *mayil*<sup>1</sup> being capable of being broken up into *may* (dark) and *il*, the derivative suffix, and therefore of conveying the meaning of 'dark' or 'dark-spotted', may be native in Dravidian. Whether the form is native or not, it is an ancient one in Tamil.

What, if any, may have been the relationship of *ñamali*, etc., to *mayil*?

If we can postulate a metathesis of *mayil*, the group *eme*, *emme*, *emali* of Telugu may follow from it; and in such a case Tamil *ñamali*, Telugu *nemali* and Kannāḍa *navilu* would stand in the same relationship to *eme*, *emali* as the first set of forms in the tabular list given above stand to the second.

But a change like the following:

*mayil* > *yamil* (i) > *emali* > (ñ) *emali* [Tamil]

*mayil* > *yamil* > *yeme* > *eme*, *emali* [Telugu]

*mayil* > *yamal* > (n) *amal* > *namal* > *navil* [Kan.]

can be considered to be conclusively proved only when analogies of a similar metathetical change could be given.

It has to be admitted that such parallels are, so far as we can see, not available numerously in southern dialects. I can only refer here to the instance of Tamil-Kannāḍa *navir* (hair) whose relationship to *mayir* (hair) appears to be analogous to the case of *navil*.

<sup>1</sup> Prof. Bloch in his paper on *Sanskrit et Dravidien* (B.S.L.), points out the difficulties of properly accounting for the relationship (if any) of Skt. *mayura*, *mayukha*, Dr. *mayil* and Indian Austric *marak*, etc.

Prof. Przyluski has suggested that all these forms may have arisen from Austric; his explanation of Indian Austric *marak* as being constituted of *ma* (Austric prefix) and *rak* (to cry out) is, so far as it goes, a fine attempt at giving the Indian Austric word a native derivation.

The student of Dravidian feels that *mayil* may have been quite native in Dravidian. Its variants in the different dialects are all explicable on purely Dravidian principles; but in view of the discussions of Bloch and Przyluski, one cannot be sure of the native character of the Dr. word.

(b) The following adaptations of Sanskrit words are interesting :—

*ñālam* (magic) < *jāla*.

*ñaman*, *naman* < *yama*.

*ñanam* < *jñāna*.

In the first instance, the voiced affricate appears to have changed directly into *ñ*,—a change which has occurred in a few rare native instances also.

Mal. *caluññu* (to quake with cold) > *ñaluññu*; *coḍ-ukku* (to snap with the finger) > *ñoḍi*; Tam. *sulukku* (to contract, diminish) > *ñolgu*.

Almost all important *ñ*-forms have been given above. It is noteworthy that they are after all considerably fewer in number than the forms with initial *n*- in Tamil-Malayālam.

From the above, the following facts emerge in regard to the occurrence of initial *ñ* in Tamil-Malayālam :—

(1) It is found immediately followed by palatal or front vowels.

(2) Words with initial *ñ* are very few when compared to the large number of words with initial *n*.

(3) In a number of such instances with initial *ñ* in Tamil, alternative forms with *n*- are found; while in Malayālam the alternative forms with *n*- have disappeared in these cases, and forms with initial *ñ*- alone are retained. The development of the peculiar features of Malayālam phonology is certainly posterior to the common Tamil-Malayālam stage when the sound *ñ* originally should have cropped up.

(4) The origin of *ñ* in the *tadbhava* forms mentioned above is self-evident; while in a few rare instances *ñ* is traceable to certain definite evident causes :—

*c* > *ñ* in Mal. *ñaluññu* (to shake with cold or fear), and Mal. *ñoḍi* (snap of finger) in both of which instances initial *ñ* appears to be derived from an original *c*, through the nasalization induced by a contained nasal or by general causes.

(5) The origin of *ñ* in the majority of instances cited above appears to be connected with *n*.

The existence of forms with alternative *ñ* and *n* initially in Tamil, and of front or palatal vowels in close association with these sounds, would point to the derivation of *ñ* from *n* owing to the influence of the vowels. Though in some cases we can undoubtedly postulate a change like *ñ* < *n* + front vowel, the problem becomes complicated when we consider the possible origin of initial *n* itself in Dravidian.

The question whether *ñ* or *n* is original in Dravidian is bound up intimately with the problem of initial *n* itself, which has now to be discussed.

IV. *The Problem of Initial 'n' in Dravidian.*—We should indeed have considered initial *n* of Dravidian to be a part of the radicals themselves unless we had found, in some dialects, forms with and without initial *n*-, of which those without *n*- so far as we can see, should be considered to be radical.

We shall give below illustrations showing alternative forms with and without *n* in Tamil-Malayālam:—

<i>n-</i>	<i>Vocalic Anlaut</i>
<i>narukku</i> (to cut)	<i>arukku</i>
<i>nān</i> (I)	<i>ān</i>
<i>nīr</i> (water)	<i>īram</i> (wetness)
Mal. <i>nanu</i> (to be close)	<i>and</i> (to be close)
Mal. <i>nambu</i> (sprout, shoot)	<i>ay-</i> (to be separated)
<i>nagar</i> (to be separated, released)	<i>agal</i> (to be separate)
Tam. <i>nagilam</i> (breasts)	<i>agalam</i> (breasts)
Tam. <i>nasai</i> (desire, love)	cf. <i>ay-</i> in <i>anbu</i>
Tam. <i>nanugu</i> (to approach)	<i>an</i> (to be close)
Tam. <i>nalakku</i> (to crumple)	base <i>al-</i> (to move)
Tam. <i>nali</i> (pain)	cf. <i>al-</i> in <i>allal</i> (sorrow)
Tam. <i>nigal</i> (to conceal)	<i>igal</i> (to run down, to push)
Tam. <i>ninattal</i> (to entangle)	cf. <i>inai</i> (to be joined)
Tam. <i>nirattal</i> (to mix)	cf. <i>ir</i> (to remain)
Tam. <i>nirai</i> (series)	cf. <i>ir</i> (to remain)
Tam. <i>nīl-</i> , <i>nīl-am</i> , etc.	cf. <i>il</i>
Tam. <i>nīlal</i> (shade)	cf. the base <i>il-</i>
Tam. <i>nīl-</i> , <i>nīḍ-</i> (to extend)	cf. the base <i>il-</i>
Tam. <i>nīr</i> (water)	<i>īr</i> (wetness)
Tam. <i>nīndu</i> (to swim)	Kannāḍa <i>indu</i>
Tam. <i>nagiḷ</i> (to smile)	Kannāḍa <i>agi</i>
Kannāḍa <i>nege</i> (to rise)	<i>egaru</i>

It may first of all be observed that in the list given above the radicals with initial vowels should be considered to be original in view of (a) the large number of ancient derivative forms that they have given rise to; and (b) the absence of such ancient elementary derivatives from the forms with initial *n*-.

A single illustration would suffice to make my meaning clear. *aḍ-*, *an-*, *and-* are a few closely connected Dravidian bases which have numerous developments in all the dialects, formed of derivative suffixes.

SN. DIALECTS:—*aṭa*, *aḍu*, *aḍi*, *aṭṭu*, *aḍ-ai*, *aḍ-uppam*, *aḍar*, *aṇi*, *aṇ-ai*, *aṇ-aṇḡu*, *aṇḍu*, *aṇḍi*, etc.

KUI (Central Indian Dr.):—*aḍa* (to join), *āḍa* (to be fitting), *aḍpa* (to mix), *ārpa* (to hide), *āṭpa* (to join together).

BRABUI AND KURUKH :—Kur. *aḍḍa* (place), *aḍnā*, *aḍ-na* : Br.

These bases are therefore undoubtedly very old and presumably original in Dravidian.

If now we take from the list given above the forms *naṇṇu* (to be close), *naṇṇu* (to approach), *naṭpu* (crowd) which show close semantic and structural relationship to the above bases, and examine how far a base like *nan-* or *naṭ* is represented in the different dialects, we shall find that the forms are *exceedingly few* in number and remarkably lacking in the variety of derivatives with elementary suffixes.

Similar explanations\* are possible for all the instances given above. Hence we are led to think that the bases *without* the initial nasal are original, and those *with* the nasal are secondary in character.

We shall now consider a few illustrations from other dialects than Tamil :—

#### SOUTHERN DIALECTS.

Tel. *nakku* (to lie in wait)—*cf.* *ag-* in Tam. *agam* (room, etc.), connected with the verb *āḡ* (to become).

Tel.-Kan. *nane* (flower-bud), Tam. *nanai* (to sprout), Tam. *nambu*, *nāmbu* (shoot of plants, etc.)—*cf.* the base *ay-* (to move, etc.) in a number of forms, both Southern and Northern. For medial *-n-* of *nane*, etc., *cf.* *kanal* (fire) from the base *kāy* (to be hot, etc.). *-mb* is a common Dravidian formative.

Kannaḍa *name* (to wear away), Telugu *navi*—*cf.* Tam. *avi* (to be crumpled, reduced).

Kan.-Tam. *nambu* (to confide), Tel. *nammu*—*cf.* Tam. *anbu* (love). The common base here again is probably *ay* (to move) which appears with a different meaning in *ambu* (arrow) also.

Kan. *negapu* (to raise)—*cf.* Tam. dialectal *egar* (to rise).

Kan. *nene* (to think), Tam. *nenar*, Telugu *neṭavu* (to consider), Tel. *nenaru* (affection, pity)—*cf.* Tamil *eṇṇu* (to think), Kui *ēḷu* (wisdom).

Kan. *nerē* (to be filled), Tam. *niṟai*—*cf.* *iṟ-* in forms like *iṟ-ai* (to pour), *iṟ- aṅgu* (to go down), *iṟ*, etc.

#### CENTRAL AND NORTHERN DIALECTS.

Kurukh <i>nāb</i> (to trample)		<i>Cf.</i> Tam. <i>avi</i>
" <i>nalamb</i> (to wash)		" <i>alambu</i>
" <i>nal</i> (to move rapidly)		" <i>al-ai</i> (to wander)
" <i>nāri</i> (fever)	}	" <i>eri</i> (to burn)
" <i>nēr</i> (to get dry)		
Kui <i>nāmba</i> (to climb)		" <i>ēru</i>

\* In this connection, we have to remember that quite a large number of Dravidian bases have a 'demonstrative' origin. Meanings of 'direction' underlie the significations of numerous forms. The demonstrative particles of Dravidian are *a*, *i*, and *u*, and there is nothing surprising therefore in the view that regards the bases (given above) with initial vowels as *original* in character.

*Forms with Initial nu- and no- :—*

Next we shall examine whether forms with initial *n* immediately followed by *dorsal* vowels evidence any relationship in form and meaning to other forms without initial *n*, similar to the correspondences pointed out above. It will be seen from the following discussion that the forms with initial *nu-* or *no-* possess derivations which *in no way* suggest the correspondences such as we have suggested above in the case of *n-* forms with *immediately following front* vowels.

We shall give a few illustrations :—

Tam. *nuṅgu*, Tuḷu *niṅgu*, Kurukh *nuluṅgu*, Mal. *nukaru* (all forms = to gulp, etc.) are all traceable to a form with initial *m-* which is original, the elementary base being *mu-* (above).

Base <i>naṛ-</i> (< aṛ) (to cut)	{	<i>nuccu</i> (bit)
Also probably contamination with		<i>nuri</i> (to break)
<i>iṛ-(u)ṅgu</i> , <i>ner-(u)ṅgu</i> , etc.		<i>nurumbu</i> (broken bit)
		<i>nuruṅgu</i> (to be broken)
		<i>nula</i> (rolling, mouldering)
		<i>nullu</i> (to pinch)
		<i>nūru</i> (slaked lime)

Mal. *nuppadu* (thirty); Kurukh *nubb* (three) owe their initial nasal to an original *m-*.

Tam.-Mal. *nun*, *noṇa* (bulging), *nunṇi* (end, termination) go back to *mun* (front).

Tam.-Mal. *nudal*, Kan. *nosāl*, Tel. *nudur* (forehead) are developed from *nun*, mentioned above.

Tam.-Mal. *noṇḍu* (to limp) is derived from *moṇḍu* (cf. *moṇḍi*, lame man).

An ancient base *nīl* (to be extended) accounts for *nāl* (thread, yarn), *nāl* (to creep in), *nāl-gu* (to extend one's sight, to see). For the alternance of *i* and *u*, cf. the Tuḷu forms *tī* and *tū* (fire), Tamil *mī-*, *mu-* (above), *vīḍu*, *vīḍu* (house); Kan. *nukku*, Kurukh *nukh* and Tamil *nīkku* (to push); Kurukh *nuṅg* (to move about) and Tam. *niṅgu*.

It will be seen, therefore, that *nu-*, *no-* are derivable from either

(a) *na-* which, containing as it does a vowel with a front tonality, may go back to a base *without* the initial nasal; or

(b) *mu-*, *mo-* (on the principle of the common interchange of *m* and *n* in Dravidian); or

(c) *nī-* (where the vowel *i* alternates with *u* in some Dr. forms).

It is more or less clear, therefore, that, among the instances given above, those forms only which have initial nasals followed by vowels of palatal tonality are certainly secondary.

When, then, we have two sets of forms, closely related structurally and semantically, in which one may be considered to be direct representatives of primitive bases (or radicals), the initial *n* of the other set of forms will have to be explained as having had a secondary origin.

Before we discuss the origin of this *n*-, let us note once again that the correspondences shown above between forms with *n*- and without *n*- have front vowels in basic syllables. The significance of this will be evident when we remember that the forms with initial *n*- followed by the dorsal vowels *u* or *o* cannot be related to bases without initial *n*-, but on the other hand are all explicable on different grounds.

V. *Origin of initial n- in bases with front vowels.*—The foregoing discussion will have made the following facts clear:—

- (a) *n*- bases with front vowels are in numerous instances related to bases which are lacking in this initial nasal;
- (b) No such correspondences are met with in forms with initial *n*- followed by dorsal vowels;
- (c) The *n*- bases appear to be later in origin;
- (d) The *n*- bases are common to all Dravidian dialects; their origin therefore should be ascribed to a *very early* stage in the development of Dravidian;
- (e) *n*- bases alternate with *ñ*- bases in the Tamil-Malayāḷam group only.
- (f) In a large number of instances with *n*- or *ñ*- followed by front vowels, there are nasal sounds already existing in the forms. The significance of this will be apparent when we discuss the phonetic aspects of the origin of these initial sounds. (See below.)

We may also incidentally note here that Kurukh displays to-day a tendency to introduce a prothetic (?) *n*- in forms with initial vowels. Father Grignard tells us (Oraon Dictionary, page 508) that in Oraon songs, a euphonic *n* may be prefixed to any word beginning with a vowel. It is possible that this tendency may have been due to euphonic considerations and that *n* in many cases may have been merely originally a hiatus-filler (as in Tamil *paḍi-n-āṟu*) in connected utterance, which subsequently became attached to the word itself.

Father Grignard's lists show alternative forms like *naḍnā* and *aḍnā*, *neṛnā* and *eṛnā*, etc.

This alternance, however, is pointed out only in a few instances with initial *n*-, while numerous others with initial *n*- which fail to show this alternance are related to similar forms in the other dialects:—



## KURUKH.

<i>nār̥na</i> (to yoke)	...	...
<i>nāk̥h</i> (four)	...	...
<i>naṛi</i> (fever)	...	...
<i>nelā</i> (to-morrow)	...	...

## OTHER DIALECTS.

<i>cf. Sn. nāl̥lu</i> (to fix)
<i>cf. Tam. nāngu</i>
<i>cf. nerip̥pu</i> (fire), etc.
<i>cf. nāl̥ai</i>

Is the tendency evidenced by Kurukh in the alternant forms *naḍ*, *aḍ*, etc., ancient? One cannot say. The fact that the alternance exists with exactly identical meanings in a few forms to-day, would indicate that the euphonic initial *n-* of these instances stands probably on a different footing from the initial *n-* of the numerous Kurukh forms which show no alternance and which, like corresponding forms of other dialects, may have permanently incorporated initial *n-*.

It may not be justifiable, therefore, for us to attribute the origin of initial *n* of Dravidian (followed by front vowels) to the same euphonic causes that have given rise in Kurukh to alternating forms like *aḍ* and *naḍ*, etc.

We have to see whether any other explanation is possible for this phenomenon.

Mr. K. V. Subbayya has postulated<sup>1</sup> that *n* in instances like Tamil *nān*, *naman*, etc., should be traced to an intermediate *ñ* which should have resulted from the nasalisation of the prothetic on-glide *ȳ* characteristically occurring in Dravidian before initial front vowels of words. He would regard the forms with initial *ñ* occurring in Tamil-Malayāḷam as indicative of the intermediate stage which should once have been general in Dravidian. This may be true of that small class of words with initial *ñ-* or *n*, which are peculiar to this dialect-group only, and which have *no* cognates with initial nasals, in other dialects whether of the south or of the north.

But so far as the large group of forms with initial *n-* found in all dialects is concerned, this position is doubtful when we consider (a) that the *ñ-* forms are very few and that they occur only in Tamil-Malayāḷam as *alternatives* of forms with *n-*, and (b) that a considerable number of forms in Tamil-Malayāḷam with initial *n-* *do not show* alternative forms with *ñ-* at all.

It is probable, therefore, that *ñ-* in many instances was a development peculiar to the Tamil-Malayāḷam group, either contemporary with or posterior to the stage of the cropping-up of *n-*.

Mr. Subbayya's explanation of the process is:—On-glide *y* before initial vowels > by nasalisation *ȳ* > *ñ* > *n* (which became generalised in all dialects).

Phonetically, the nasalisation of *y* should directly produce *ñ*, and we know that nasalisation is frequent in Dravidian.

<sup>1</sup> *Dravidic Studies* (II, page 22).

Yet, could this explanation hold good generally for all the instances of Dravidian initial *n*- which form the subject of our discussion? The existence of forms with initial *ñ* in Tamil-Mal. group *alone*, and the extreme *paucity* of such forms even in this group would strongly militate against this view.

The only other explanation possible is that *n*- should have been introduced prothetically in a number of ancient bases with initial front vowels and with an included nasal *n* already existing as a part of their bases. It will be seen from an examination of the lists given above that in a number of instances, nasals do exist as part of the bases which have no *n*- *initially*. Under the influence of this sound, a new prothetic *n* may have been introduced initially also *in connection with the production of the on-glide*; the tendency thereafter should have become more or less general, and *n*- introduced prothetically in words which had no contained nasal.

This process should have occurred only in bases with initial front vowels; for, the production of the front on-glide alone would have brought about the introduction of *n* which, in point of production and nature of articulation, is closely related to *ŷ*.

In the case of bases with dorsal vowels, the on-glide being *ʔ*, the tendency would be, if at all, to introduce the bilabial nasal *m*.

In Tamil-Malayāḷam alone, this prothetic *n*, influenced by the consonantal sound *y* developed from the on-glide *ʔ*, became *ñ* in a *few* instances (as in the adaptation of the Sanskrit word *nyāya* as *ñāyam* or *ñyāyam*).

How far the introduction of *n*- in initial positions helped the evolution of slightly different *nuances* or shades of meaning, will form the subject of a separate paper.

In the meantime, I may sum up here what I have attempted to show in this paper:—

(a) A small group of forms exists in Tamil-Malyāḷam with initial *ñ* alternating with *n*.

Of these, a few appear to be unique in this group, with no cognates possessing the initial nasal, in the other dialects of the south or of the north.

(b) A large number of forms with initial *n* followed by vowels of palatal tonality occur in all Dravidian dialects; and most of these appear to be semantically and structurally allied to forms without the initial nasal (which are original).

(c) The forms with initial *n*- followed by dorsal vowels *-u* and *-o* *cannot* be directly related to forms with initial vowels, as in (b) above.

(d) The introduction of prothetic *n*- should have happened in connection with the front on-glide of Dravidian, in the group of instances mentioned in (b) above.

(e) In the Tamil-Malayāṁ group alone two different processes may have operated:—

- (i) the introduction of prothetic  $n$ - as in the other dialects, and the subsequent change of  $n > \tilde{n}$  under the influence of the immediately following front vowel?
  - (ii) the direct introduction of prothetic  $\tilde{n}$  in a number of instances having no cognates in other dialects, and the subsequent alternation of  $\tilde{n}$  with  $n$  on the analogy of the already existing instances with alternating  $n$  and  $\tilde{n}$ .
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# STUDIES IN BIRD-MYTHS, No. XXX—ON AN ANCIENT INDIAN ÆTIOLOGICAL MYTH ABOUT THE ENMITY BETWEEN THE CROWS AND THE OWLS.

BY PROF. SARAT CHANDRA MITRA, M.A., B.L.

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EVERY one resident in India has seen that whenever an Indian Screech Owl (*Strix flammea*, Linn) comes out of its hiding place during the daytime, the saucy House-Crow (*Corvus splendens*, Vieill) accompanied by all the members of his race attack the former, and molest him in such a manner that he is forced to take refuge in his retreat.

The ancient Indian Aryans, no doubt, observed such instances of antagonism between the Indian Screech Owl and the House-Crow. Those who were thoughtful among them were struck by this strange enmity between two clans of the feathered race and, therefore, set their heads together and began to search for the origin of this antagonism. Being unable to find out the true cause thereof, they invented the following myth accounting for its origin and recorded it in that golden treasury of ancient Indian stories—*The Kathâ Sarit Sâgara* or “The Ocean of the Streams of Stories” :—

Once upon a time the birds were without a king. They therefore met together in an assembly and deliberated as to who should be their monarch. Their choice fell upon the owl. So they brought an umbrella and held it over his head and fanned him with a *chowrie* or a fly-flapper of yak's tail. Having done this, they were about to anoint him king but in the meantime a crow came and protested against the owl being anointed a king saying that such an honour should not be conferred upon an ugly, unlucky and misshapen bird like the owl. The assembled birds agreed with his view, stopped the ceremony and then flew away in all directions. On this the owls vowed to wreak vengeance upon the crows.

In order to give effect to their determination, the owls, headed by their leader Avamarda, one night, attacked the crows while they were roosting on the boughs of a sacred fig tree. They attacked the latter with beak and claws so effectively that they slaughtered a good many of them. The surviving members of the crow tribe escaped and took refuge wherever they could.

The next morning the surviving crows met in an assembly and took counsel together to devise means as to how they should be revenged upon the owls. One of the crows named Chirajivin said that he would by a stratagem make friends with the leader of the owls and then by trickery

wreak vengeance upon the whole owl tribe. So saying, he lay prostrate under the sacred fig tree pretending to have been maltreated by Meghabarana, the leader of the crows.

When, on the following night the owls headed by Avamarda went to the sacred fig tree to renew their work of destruction upon the surviving crows, they found that the latter had flown away but found Chirajivin lying prostrate and half-dead underneath the tree. The wily crow, by trickery, convinced Avamarda that he had been maltreated by his leader Meghabarana for having advised him to make peace with the owls. So Avamarda unsuspectingly took pity on Chirajivin, took him to his own cavern, fed him with nourishing food and restored him to his former health. When he had grown strong enough, the wily Chirajivin proposed to Avamarda that he should go to his leader Meghabarana and bring him to the owl's cavern to sue for peace in person. But the wily crow further said that before he would go he would close up the entrance to the owls' cavern so that the crows might not come and take the owls by surprise. The simple-hearted Avamarda, not suspecting any treachery on Chirajivin's part, agreed to all this being done. Accordingly the cunning Chirajivin closed up the entrance to the owls' cavern with a huge mass of grass, and set fire to it without the owls' knowing of it. So the owls were burnt to death and the crows were revenged upon the former.

It is for this reason that the enmity between the crows and the owls has arisen.\*

It would be interesting to know whether any similar myth accounting for the origin of the enmity between the crows and the owls exists among any other people or peoples inhabiting India. Should any reader of the *Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society* of Bangalore be aware of the existence of any such myth, he would greatly oblige the writer of this paper by contributing it to the aforementioned periodical.

Whenever people in a low plane of culture have come across such instances of antagonism between two clans of the animal kingdom, they appear to have fabricated stories to account for the origin thereof. I have already shown in a previous paper† that the primitive myth-makers of Bihar have invented a myth to account for the origin of the enmity between the House-Crow and the domestic cat.

\* For a fuller version of this ancient myth, see *Indian Fables and Folk-Lore*. By Sovona Devi, London: Macmillan & Co., Ltd., 1919, pp. 53—56.

† *Vide* my paper entitled "Studies in Bird-Myths, No. XI—On an Aetiological Myth about the Indian House-Crow" in the *Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society* of Bangalore, Vol. XVII, No. 2, pp. 143—144.

# STUDIES IN PLANT-MYTHS, No. VIII—ON AN ANGAMI NAGA ÆTIOLOGICAL MYTH ABOUT THE ACRIDITY OF THE TUBERS OF THE TARO PLANT.

BY PROF. SARAT CHANDRA MITRA, M.A., B.L.

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THE Taro, Eddoes or Scratch-Coco etc., (*Colocasia antiquorum*, Schott.), which belongs to the order *Aroidese*, is a plant having large heart-shaped beans, borne on long stalks, rising from a short farinaceous corm. It is found in a wild state over the greater part of tropical India, and is also cultivated throughout India on account of its corms which are as an important article of diet after they have been boiled.

Its vernacular name is *Kachu*. The taro-plant, when growing in a wild condition, is called by the Angami Nagas *Kirth*.

The pressed juice of the petioles is used as a styptic and may be used to arrest arterial hæmorrhage. Internally, it acts as a laxative. It is also used as an antidote to the stings of wasps and other insects.

The name Taro is given by the islanders of the Pacific Ocean to the tubers of the *Colocasia antiquorum* which they use largely for food. The tubers are acrid and poisonous. But their poisonous properties are destroyed by thorough cooking in different ways. They are made into puddings, baked or boiled; and the young leaves of this plant are eaten like spinach.

In Bengal and Bihar, the corms are much eaten in a boiled state, while the long leaf-stalks are cooked into a palatable curry in Lower Bengal and partaken of largely.

As has been stated above, the taro-plant grows in a wild state in the hills inhabited by the Angami Nagas.

The Angami Nagas dwell in the hills to the north of Manipur. These primitive savages suffer much from the smarting which the eating of the corms of the taro-plant cause them. As they are ignorant of the principles of chemistry and plant-physiology, they are unable to hit upon the true causes which produce the acridity of the taro-tubers. The most thoughtful among these ignorant savages have, therefore, invented the undermentioned myth to account for the origin of the acridity thereof:—

On one occasion a wild boar, which is called by the Angami Nagas “the Pig of the Gods”, devastated a field of corm. A man wounded it and tracked it by its bloody trail to a cave which he entered. After entering the cave, he saw the god whose pig he had wanted. When the god asked him as to what he wanted, he replied that he wanted to marry his daughter.

Thereupon the god showed him his two daughters one of whom was ugly-looking but dressed in fine clothes; while the other was pretty-looking but dirty and naked.

The man, however, selected the pretty-looking girl and carried her home in a basket. When he arrived at his native village, he left the basket by a water-hole and went to summon his kinsmen. After he had gone away, a woman named Hunchibili came there and taking out the girl from the basket, threw her into a stream and herself went inside the basket and closed the lid thereof.

When the man returned with his relatives, they opened the basket and saw the inmate thereof. But everyone was disgusted with Hunchibili's ugly appearance and laughed at the man's foolishness in having selected her. But the man himself, believing Hunchibili to be the girl whom he had brought from the god's cave, married her.

The real girl, who had been thrown into the stream, turned into a bamboo-plant from which a shoot had sprung up. The man, seeing this, cut this shoot, brought it home, and, placing it in a pot, set it to boil. While the shoot was boiling, it uttered strange cries. On hearing which the man threw it away. Then this bamboo-shoot was changed into an orange-tree which the man nurtured carefully. When it grew up, it bore a single orange which ripened on the tree. The man plucked this ripe orange and put it in a basket and forgot all about it.

When the man and Hunchibili left their house to work in the jungle and the field, the orange-girl came out of the basket and tidied up the man's bed; while she threw dirt and filth on that of Hunchibili. Being unable to find out who the person was, who did it, he concealed himself and finding that it was the orange-girl who did all this, caught hold of her. Thereupon she told him the whole story about the deception practised by Hunchibili.

When Hunchibili returned from the field with her load of firewood and taro-plants, her husband cut off her head with a *dao*. The taro-plants became soaked with her blood. From that time forward, the corms or tubers of the taro-plants have become acrid.\*

If we carefully analyse the foregoing myth, we will find that the primitive Angami Naga myth-maker has, by inventing it, fulfilled the two following objects :—

- (1) He has accounted for the origin of the acidity of the taro-tubers.
- (2) He has also inculcated the important ethical teaching that the man or woman who practises deceit and fraud must be drastically punished.

\**Vide* the Folk tale entitled *Hunchibili* in *The Angami Nagas*. By J. A. Hutton, C.I.E., M.A., I.C.S. London: Macmillan & Co., Ltd., 1921, pp. 280—282.

## NOTES.

### On the Pronunciation of English by South Indians.

BY A. F. THYAGARAJU, ESQ., M.A.

IT is well-known that one of the best ways in which linguistic changes in the past can be understood is by examining the present. We may be able to account for some of the differences between the various Dravidian languages by observing how each one of them reacts to a foreign language. In the present essay I wish to set down some peculiarities in the pronunciation of English by speakers whose native language is one of the Dravidian groups. I confine myself to what I have observed. I restrict my enquiry to the educated classes. By these I mean those who have studied at least up to the Intermediate standard.

I am not concerned just now with individual mistakes. Every learner of a foreign tongue makes mistakes. These are instructive but I am ignoring them at present. I consider only such peculiarities as seem to be universal among speakers of one language area. The difficulties I am dealing with are deep-seated. Even continued residence abroad does not very often result in getting over them. The important thing is that these errors come naturally to the mouths of the speakers.

I take Malayalam, Tamil and Telugu. I have not had opportunities of coming into contact with Kanarese-speaking people.

The phonetic system I use for representing the pronunciation of English is that of the International Phonetic Association; for the Dravidian languages I use Caldwell's symbols.

#### Malayalam.

(1) Eng. ou becomes ɔ.

Eng. ɔ becomes ou.

*Examples:* Boat (*bout*) pronounced bɔt.

Focus (*fɔnkəs*) pronounced fɔkəs.

Forty (*fɔrti*) pronounced fourti.

Conduct (*cɔn dakt*) pronounced koundakt.

This law works with almost mathematical accuracy and is an infallible test of a South Indian's linguistic affiliations. There is an exception, however, and that is when the "ou" is final, e.g. Photo (*fɔtəu*) is pronounced fətəu.

(2) Eng. l becomes ɭ under certain conditions:

(a) when preceded by a guttural vowel, i.e., a, o, or u. *Examples:* all, college, roll, full, bull are pronounced ɔ:ɭ, kəʊɭedz, etc. This change does not take place after a palatal vowel, i.e., e or i, e.g.; tell, well, fill, till are pronounced correctly.

(b) when preceded by a consonant, usually a labial, and generally when



final. *Examples*: simple, people, humble, bundle, etc. These are pronounced *simpɫ, pi : pɫ, hʌmbɫ*, etc.

(c) when followed by a consonant, usually a dental. *Examples*: told, cold, bolt. These are pronounced *tɔ : ɪd, kə : ɪd*, etc.

(3) Eng. *n* becomes *ɲ* medially between two vowels. *Examples*: tonic, chronic, which are pronounced *touɲɪk, krouɲɪk*. Even this change seems to be found only after guttural vowels and in consonant combinations, *nt, nd*, etc.

(4) Eng. *z* becomes *s*. *Examples*: zinc, zeal, Zechariah, zoo. These are pronounced *sɪnk, si:l, su: , etc.*

Besides these laws there are some tendencies which are to be noticed. One of these is to voice *t* medially especially after *n*. *Examples*: Intermediate, contentment which become indermediate and condendment.

### Tamil.

A few of the features we observed with reference to Malayalam are found in Tamil also. At the same time there are some differences

(1) The vowel change of *ə* to *ou* and *ou* to *ə* is not present in Tamil.

(2) Eng. *l* becomes *ɭ* under certain conditions :

(a) when preceded by the vowel *u*. *Examples*: full, bull, etc.

(b) when preceded by a labial consonant and when final. *Examples*: people, humble, etc.

(3) Eng. *n* becomes *ɲ* sometimes. Example : money is pronounced *maɲi*.

(4) Eng. *z* is pronounced correctly.

The following tendencies are to be noticed :—

(a) To voice English medially. *Examples*: Author, method (*a : θə*) (*meθəd*) are pronounced *a : də, medəd*. It will be noted that English normally voices this sound medially : feather, leather, etc. Tamil brings the exceptions also into line.

(b) To introduce an initial *j* in the combination "ear". *Examples*: earth, early (*ə θ*) (*ə : li*) pronounced *jə : θ, jə : li*, etc.

(c) A fondness for the diagraph *æ* in preference to the full vowel *a*. This is clearly seen in the pronunciation of place names in English where the un-Tamilian sound *æ* is used though the names are Tamil in origin. Palamcottah, Nagercoil are pronounced *Pælamkouta, Nægerkoil*.

### Telugu.

It is a curious fact that though the Telugu pronunciation of English is poor on the whole, the Telugu speaker has few chronic difficulties when compared with his Tamil or Malayali compatriot. His one important stumbling-block is the following :—

(1) Eng. *z* becomes *dz*. *Examples*: zoo, lazy, easy, pronounced *dzu : , leidzi, i : dzi*, etc. Sometimes the reverse process takes place, *dz* becomes *z*. "Logic" is pronounced "Ləzik".

This difficulty about *z* seems to be strange especially because the Telugu of some districts uses a sound very closely corresponding to English *z* and, as already mentioned, substitutes it for the correct sound in some English words. Tel. *raju* (=king) is pronounced *razu* and *nijam* (=truth) is pronounced *nizam*. In my College there are many people who spell my name with a *z*.

(2) Eng. *o* becomes *æ* very often. *Example*: Lord (L<sub>o</sub> : d) is pronounced la : d.

I am studying these phenomena and will attempt to explain them in my next article. I may state just now that the rounded vowels are not found in the Dravidian languages and the consonant *z* is also absent. Tamil and Malayalam show a great liking for the cerebral consonants *l* and *ṇ* whereas Telugu has a repugnance for them. Further, there is a law in Tamil according to which the consonant sounds *k*, *f*, *t*, and *p* become *g*, *q*, *d* and *b* medially. All these sound laws operate in the pronunciation of English by South Indians.

I may mention for the benefit of those who do not know Caldwell's system that the symbol

l stands for the sound in Tamil *tēl* (scorpion)

ṇ stands for the sound in Tam. *kaṇ* (eye).

## A Note on the Date of Samkara.

BY S. SRIKANTHA SASTRI, ESQ., M.A.

AN attempt is made here to solve the problem of the date of Śrī Śamkara taking for granted a certain number of more or less definitely ascertainable facts. It is well known that he refers to certain kings of his time. The relevant passages are:—

### I. *Sūtra Bhāṣya*.—

- (a) II. 1. 17. “न हि देवदत्तः सुभ्रे सन्निधीयमानः तदहरेव पाटलीपुत्रे सन्निधीयते. युगपद-  
नेकत्र वृत्तावनेकत्र प्रसंगात् देवदत्त यज्ञदत्तयोरिव सुभ्रे पाटलीपुत्र निवासनोः” ॥  
“न हि, वन्ध्यापुत्री राजा बभूव प्राक् पूर्णवर्मणोऽभिषेकात्, इत्येवं जातीयकेन  
मर्यादा करणेन निरुपाख्यो वन्ध्यापुत्रोपजा बभूव भवति भविष्यति इति वा  
विशेष्यते” ॥
- (b) IV. 3. 5. “तथाच लोके प्रसिद्धेष्वपि अतिवाहिकेषु एवं जातीयक उपदेशो दृश्यते—  
गच्छ ! त्वं इतो बलवर्मणं ततो जयसिंहम् ततः कृष्णगुप्तमिति ” ॥
- (c) II. 4. 1. “सादृश्ये हि सति उपमानं स्यात्—यथा सिंहः तथा बलवर्मेति ” ॥
- (d) I. 2. 7. “यथा समस्त वसुधाधिपतिरपि हि सन् अयोध्याधिपतिरिति व्यवदिश्यते ” ॥

### II. *Upanishadbhāṣya*.

- a. *Chāndogya*, II. 23. 1, “यथा पूर्णवर्मणः सेवा भक्त परिधानमात्रफला राजवर्मणस्तु राज-  
तुल्यफला इति तद्वत् ” ॥
- b. *Chāndogya*, II. 19. 1. “यथा असदेवेदं राज्ञः कुलं सर्वगुणसंपन्ने पूर्णवर्मणि राजन्य  
सतीति तद्वत् ” ॥

The position of planets at the time of Śaṅkara's birth as given by Mādhava was the basis on which Dr. Swāmikannu Pillai opined that the year 805 A.D. might have been the year of Śaṅkara's birth. But it should be noted that the year 568 A.D. will also be a suitable date (*Indian Ephemeris*, Vol. I, Part I, p. 122). If we take the "Dēvyaparādha Stōtra" as a genuine work of Śaṅkara, he must have lived for more than 85 years, for therein he says :—

मया पंचाशतिरधिकमपनीतेतु वयसि ॥

i.e., his demise must have taken place after 653 A.D. It remains to be seen whether the above-mentioned kings can be located in this period. Of Pūrṇavarman, Śaṅkara tells us that he was of a good family and possessed fine qualities but his power was little as compared with that of Rājavarman. Pūrṇavarman of Magadha who had died some time before 640 A.D. was, as Yuvan-Chwang tells us, the last of the line of Maurya kings and hence of a good family. He restored the Bōdhi tree, probably destroyed by Śāśaṅka. Daṇḍī in his illustration of *Prēyōlāmākāra* mentions a Rājavarman, most probably the same king mentioned by Śaṅkara. We know that the Vāmana mentions Daṇḍin's *Chandovicchiti* (शब्दस्मृत्यभिधानकोश छंदोविच्छितिकला कामशास्त्र दण्डनीति पूर्वविद्या : etc. etc.). Thus there can be no flagrant mistake if we place Daṇḍin in c. 600 A.D. Perhaps the tradition by which Mādhava makes Śaṅkara a contemporary of Bāṇa-Mayūra and Daṇḍin might be genuine. It is probable, therefore, that the Rājavarman mentioned by Śaṅkara and Daṇḍin is a king perhaps of the Pallava line. Kṛṣṇagupta is probably the first of the line of the Guptas of Magadha and must be placed about the year 570 A.D. Since the territories of Balavarman and Jayasimha should be in a line with the Magadha province, Jayasimha is probably the second son of the western Chālukya Kirtivarman I, who ruled later on in the time of Pulakesin II in Gujerat.

Śaṅkara can be placed in the eighth century only if we are determined to ignore a number of facts. First, Gauḍapāda's *Bhāṣya* (along with Mātharavṛtti on the Sāṃkhya Kārikas of Iśvara-Kṛṣṇa) was translated into Chinese during the Ch'en dynasty (557-83 A.D.). Therefore Gauḍapāda must be placed at the latest about the year 550 A.D. He was probably the same as Śaṅkara's *parama-guru*. Secondly, Vidyānanda quotes from Surēśvara's *Bṛhadāranya Vārtika*. This Vidyānanda was the immediate disciple of Akalaṃka and two generations earlier than Jinasēna I, the author of *Harivamśa* and the contemporary of Govinda III and four generations earlier than Jinasēna II, the author of *Mahāpurāṇa* and the contemporary of Amōghavarsha Nṛpatunga, as pointed out by me in my *Sources of Kārnātaka History*, Vol. I. Therefore Vidyānanda must be placed about the year 700 A.D. For Surēśvara's work to obtain recognition even by alien dialecticians at least half a century must have elapsed. Therefore he must be placed about the year 650 A.D. and cannot possibly be the same as Umvēka Maṇḍana who almost certainly is Bhavabhūti Śrīkaṇṭha. Bhavabhūti must be placed in 730 A.D. or thereabouts and thus there is a difference of at least a hundred years between Surēśvara and Maṇḍana. Maṇḍana is the immediate

disciple of Kumārila and under his *alias* as Umvēka he wrote a commentary on Kumārila's *Ślōkavārtika*, quoted by Pratyagasvarūpa, Chit-sukha, Bodhaghana, etc. Umvēka seems to have also been known to Prabhāchandra, the author of *Pramēya Kumāla Mārtaṇḍa*. Now several generations later than Maṇḍana Umvēka, his descendants Paramēśvara, author of *Sphōtasiddhivyākhyā*, Vāsudēva, the author of *Sivōlaya*, and Nārāyaṇa, the commentator on Maṇḍana's *Bhāvanāvivēka*, call themselves the nephews and the disciples of a Śamkarāchārya. This Śamkara is probably the commentator on *Sāmkhya Saftati* and in my opinion also the author of *Śaṇatsujātīya Bhāṣya*; and thus is different from Śamkarāchārya, the disciple of Gōvindabhagavatpāda I.

If the above reasoning is correct, it follows that Kumārila, who knows the Kāśika, should probably be the younger contemporary of Śamkara and not the elder as tradition makes him out to be. It is probable that Śamkara indicates in commenting upon “अथात” that in a way he is following Bhavadāsa's Vṛtti and is also making remarks on Śabara's criticism of Bhavadāsa (regarding *ānanta-ryārtha*), and in the *Devatādihikarāṇa* while refuting *Sphōlavāda* he criticises Śabara and Bhagavan Upavarsha but does not seem to be aware of Maṇḍana's *Sphōtasiddhi*.

Thus it is not possible to identify the Balavarman mentioned by Śamkara with the one mentioned in an inscription dated śaka 842 (Vikrama) of the time of the Rāshtrakūta Indra III (*Mad. Epi. Rep.* 47 of 1904). By the courtesy of the Madras Epigraphic Department, I have been able to obtain the text of the inscription which is as follows:—

श्रीमान् श्वाळुक्य वंशे समजनि निहिताशेष श [त्रु] श्रिर्ताशो ।

न्यायोपेतः स्सपृथ्वी चतुरुदधि लतावेष्टिता यः प्रभूताम् ।

आकृष्यादातुकामो नृपसदसि तदा धोर नाम्ने महिम्ना ।

हृष्योद्यद्दण्डिकायां समकृत (?) बलवर्माधिपः पट्टवन्धम् ॥

संग्रामैकरसः पराक्रम धनः कांचीपमुग्राहवे ।

जित्वा [वी] र गजेंद्रं दंतयुगलं (?) संस्थाप्य नामांकितम् ।

[रुया] ता लम्पुर नामधेय नगर ब्रह्मेश्वर स्याग्रतः ।

सोयं तस्य सुती ह्यधायि दशवर्माख्यः प्रचण्डोदयः ॥

Dhōra mentioned above must have been a Rāshtrakūta prince. We have a Dhruva, son of Kṛṣṇa I about the year 783 A.D. Another was the son of Kakka of Gujerat (c. 834-5); and a third the son of Akālavarsha Śubhatuṅga (c. 866 A.D.). The Dhōra or Dhruva, helped by this Balavarman, must have been one of the latter. Another Balavarman, grandfather of a Vimalāditya, mentioned in the Kaḍaba grant of Prabhūtavarsha (supposed to be spurious) probably lived about the year 775 A.D. In any case these cannot be placed in the latter half of the sixth and the beginning of the seventh century contemporaneous with Kṛṣṇagupta and Pūrṇavarman.

Then there is the question of the identification of Manukulāditya referred to by Sarvagñātman, the disciple of Surēśvara. Probably he must be identified with Ādityavarman, the second son of Pulakēsin II or Vinayāditya or Vijayāditya of the Chāḷukyas of Bādāmi who belonged to the Mānavyasa *gōtra*. Ādityavarman ruled near the confluence of the Kṛṣṇā and the Tuṅgabhadrā probably from Alampur which was a renowned centre of the Pāśupata cult. Taking all this into consideration, we can arrive at the more or less certain conclusion that Śaṅkara must have lived in the latter half of the sixth and the former half of the seventh century long before the destruction of Pātalīputra and Srughna.

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## REVIEWS.

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### Pre-Historic Survival in the Indus Valley.

BY RAI BAHADUR R. P. CHANDA.

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THE aim of this thesis has been to link the present-day culture of India with the discoveries of the Indus Valley and thus establish the continuity of the Indian civilisation from a bygone age. The occasion has also been utilised to explain the origin of our caste system.

Elsewhere the Rai Bahadur has propounded his view of the origins as a resultant of different streams of fair and dark coloured Aryan immigrants. In the present volume the old idea emerges, no doubt modified, to suit the new discoveries. The Aryans were mainly Rishi clans, and the people of the Indus Valley supplied the Kshatriya element for the four-fold social structure. The learned writer has also tried to maintain that human sacrifice, widow-burning (Sati), asceticism and *tantra*, tree and serpent worship, Phallus worship, were all non-Aryan elements of our composite culture for which the Brahminical Rishis were not responsible.

Nevertheless, greater enlightenment on the origin of the caste is needed. We congratulate the author on the excellent publication and the department on the continued interest it has been evincing in Indian antiquities.

R.

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### Excavations in Baluchistan, 1925.

(*Archæological Survey of India.*)

BY HARGREAVES.

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THE annual report of the Archæological Department of the Government of India raised our hopes of further discoveries in Baluchistan which might throw fresh light on the culture of the Indus Valley. That promise has been more than amply fulfilled though the results have not conformed to our expectations. Mr. Hargreaves conducted excavations on two sites only, one near Mastung, south of Quetta and the other some two hundred miles south at Nat in Jhalawan.

The results of those operations can be given in brief. The search at Mastung yielded numerous earthenware vessels, a coin of the Indo-Scythians, and a few pieces of copper and iron. The only conclusion arrived at was that the country was peopled before and after the dawn of the Christian era by inhabitants of a civilisation more advanced than that of its present occupants. But no connection with the Chalcolithic culture of the Indus was traceable.

The Nal Valley was certainly richer in finds, though it has belied the hope of establishing some links with that of Harappa and Mohenjadaró. The absence of those pictographic seals and "the marked difference in fabric, form and ornament between the pottery of Nal and that of the Indus would seem to indicate cultures separated considerably in point of time. All that can be asserted at present is that copper implements, painted pottery, pottery design and a striking form of weight are common to both."

The memoir is further enriched by a very informing and interesting note by Lt.-Col. Seymour Sewell and Dr. B. S. Guha, on the racial affinities of the people who lived in Nal and in the Indus Valley. Their main conclusion is that the North and West of India were inhabited by a branch of the Mediterranean race along with that of an Alpine stock. We should like to hear more on this subject in the near future.

R.

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### The Annual Bibliography of Indian Archæology for the Year 1927.

KERN INSTITUTE.

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THE first issue of the annual, last year, established its claim as an indispensable book of reference for every student of Oriental literature. The second number of the bibliography deserves to be in every library. The current issue is an improvement on the previous one; the number of items dealt with increases from 540 to 720 and the exhaustive index of subjects and books of Indian interest, as well as the important topics discussed at length, such as "the Pre-Historic Civilization of the Indus Valley," "Discoveries on the Site of Nagarjunikonda", etc., make the work very useful.

The Government of the Netherlands India ought to be congratulated for their enlightened interest in this laudable publication of the Kern Institute.

R.

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### Mystery and Mental Atmosphere.

BY SIR RICHARD C. TEMPLE, BART.

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THIS pamphlet of thirty pages which is full of ideas is the Presidential Address delivered by Sir R. C. Temple before the Folklore Society of London in 1928.

Sir Richard is a firm believer in the psychic unity of mankind. There is a common undercurrent of beliefs running through the mind of man in all climes and in all ages, such as the fear of the ghosts of the departed ones, persisting everywhere. Nay more, one and the same inevitable and instinctive idea of the supernatural has been adopted by different races with local variations. The

example of Alkhidar or Khizar Khan is cited for illustration. This mystery is worshipped as Buddha in Burma, as Raja Kiotar by the Hindus and as Alkhidar by the Muslims. Khizar Khan's earlier incarnations are traced to St. George of the Dragon Legend and Tammuz of the ancient Babylon. This universality of the phenomenon is explicable only on the assumption that the primitive mind resorts in the last analysis to supernatural agency as the ultimate explanation of the mysteries of life.

It is also possible to trace three layers of ideas in the mental atmosphere of every man, however cultured. The inmost layer clings to the faith in ghosts and spirits, the next to the superstition and fetishes of the past generation, and the outer layer has only a veneer of current ideas and faiths.

The address is a sure and suggestive guide to a study of ethnology and folklore and deserves a wide welcome.

R.

## Omarkhayyam.

BY J. E. SAKLATWALLA.

THE Omarkhayyam has been a favourite of almost every English-educated man, since Fitzgerald gave the world his famous translation which became in the process almost a new and original poem. Mr. J. E. Saklatwalla of Bombay has tried his hand at a free translation of Omarkhayyam, into English verse. Out of its thousand quotations, only fifty verses have been rendered into English. Considering the medium employed, we can easily congratulate the author on his successful task, for it is well known that translations rarely succeed in reproducing the original charm of idiom and ideas. Yet we are constrained to add that the translation lacks the glow and the charm of poetry that we find in Fitzgerald.

R.

## Wisdom of the Prophets.

BY KHAN SAHIB KHAJA KHAN, B.A., AUTHOR OF "PHILOSOPHY OF ISLAM," ETC.

Price Two Rupees. The Book is obtainable from the author, 69, Jani Jahar Khan Road, Royapettah, Madras.

THIS treatise by Khan Sahib Khaja Khan, B.A., author of the "Philosophy of Islam", "Studies in Lasawwuf", etc., is a solid contribution to Islamic studies. By his work the author has added the hitherto neglected chapters to the philosophy of Islam in so far as it was inaccessible to English readers. On reading his book,



one is impressed with the vast erudition and minute research of the author. It adds to the interest of the book to find him illuminating old texts and teachings with his knowledge of modern thought. For students of comparative religion the book is invaluable. The author deserves the gratitude of all students of religion for the way in which he has handled an abstruse subject. Not the least interesting part of the book is the life of the Shayk. The book has a foreword by Monsieur L. Massignon, Professor, "The College of France", Paris. We believe with the Monsieur that this synoptical translation into English of Shayk Muhiyuddin Ibni-i-Ali ul Arabi's famous standard book on Lasawwuf "will conquer new readers for Ibn Arabi's works and new enquirers about *Lasawwuf* studies in English-speaking countries". A useful glossary of technical terms is appended to the volume.

M. Y.

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## Karma Yoga.

BY YOGI BHIKSHU.

Published by Yogi Publication Society, Chicago, U.S.A. Price Rs. 6-4.

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EAST and West have been brought together. There is not only exchange of commodities but also of thought. Oriental thought has fascinated not a few minds in the West. As a result of this the need has arisen for offering fresh interpretations of Eastern thought to suit the Western or the modern mind. One of the most important phases of philosophic thought in India with its far-reaching pragmatism which has appealed to the American mind is the Yoga philosophy. The interest in this subject was perhaps first roused by speakers and writers like Swami Vivekananda, Swami Abhedananda, Yogi Ramacharaka and others. *Eleven Lessons in Karma Yoga* by Yogi Bhikshu published by the Yogi Publication Society of Chicago is a book that caters to the awakened interest in Eastern thought in a class of people in America. The book before us is a series of practical lessons in Karma Yoga. The ninth lesson may be regarded as the gist of the whole book. It gives a picture of a Karma Yogi, his ways of life and his attitude to life's problems. It is there shown that Karma Yoga is a philosophy of action that appeals to the man in the work-a-day world. It is a philosophy that lifts him from the dreary grooves of routine life into which a man easily sinks unless there is offered to him a dynamic philosophy of life which would make his cheerless life cheerful. This book supplies a real need of elucidating the teachings of Karma Yoga and brings them into relations with daily life.

The get-up of the book is excellent, but we regret a few misprints especially of quotations from Sanskrit. For instance on page 125, instead of 'Yathaichhasi Thatna Kuru' we have 'Mutha Ischasi Tatha Kuru'. An index would have been useful.

Though the book is published by the Yogi Publication Society, Chicago, U.S.A., it is sponsored in India by the well-known Latent Light Culture of Tinnevely. The book is a useful addition to already existing literature on Yoga. M. Y.

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## The Tamil Translation of the Rubaiyat of Omarkhayyam.

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THE Tamil translation of the Rubaiyat of Omarkhayyam is exceedingly interesting. The author has taken considerable pains to keep to the original and has rendered the same in simple and elegant verse. Even a lay man can understand the ideas contained in it. The thoughts are highly philosophical and they deal with the transient nature of worldly pleasures. More or less, it corresponds to the Tamil works of Pattinathar, Thayumanavar, Ramalinga-swamigal, etc. The book can be read with interest by all lovers of Tamil literature. Verses 10, 13, 14 and 17 of the book are pithy and inspiring. The book is also well got up.

N. C.

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## Salinity of the Indian Sea-Waters. Memoirs of The Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal.

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THE author gives us a detailed account of the observations regarding the temperature and salinity of the surface waters in the Bay of Bengal, and Andaman Sea taken over periods during which the seasons in India undergo critical changes, *i.e.*, in the periods of the N.-E. and S.-W. monsoons.

Their temperature of the Indian waters exhibits a clear double oscillation in the course of the year, there being two maxima, one in April and the other in September, and two minima occurring during the periods of the S.-W. and N.-E. monsoons respectively. The data upon which the author draws his conclusions have been taken from deep waters in the Gulf of Mannar and the Bay of Bengal. The conclusions drawn confirm those of Brown whose observations being carried out in artificial evaporating tanks in Trivandrum cannot be relied upon entirely by themselves.

It is very interesting to note that the oscillation of temperature of the surface waters on the Indian seas are correlated with the strength or weakness of the monsoon in the particular year. The conditions that existed in the surface water in the years 1921 and 1922 indicate that the strength of the monsoon must have differed considerably.

There is a variation in the temperature of the sea-waters even in the course of a day, the minimum occurring at about 4 A.M., and the maximum somewhere between 12 noon and 4 P.M. The time of occurrence of the maximum varies according to the month.

The author brings out clearly the relation between the air temperature over the sea and that of the sea-water, by taking their differences at various times during a given day. Invariably a rise in the wind force is accompanied by a fall in the temperature difference.

The density of water especially in the Indian seas like the Bay of Bengal, depends upon such complex factors like the opposite influences of the two monsoons, the large influx of pure water from the big rivers, the evaporation from the surface owing to the action of the wind, and the movement of large masses of water due to ocean currents.

In the oceanic survey given by the author the data have been lucidly correlated with instructive graphs.

S. R.

### Srimad Bhagavad-Gita—A Study.

BY S. D. BUDHIRAJA, M.A., LL.B.

(Price Rs. 6. Publishers : Ganesh & Co., Madras.)

THE author of the 'Bhagavadgita—A Study' clearly mentions in his preface that the book is intended to be a critical study of the *Gita* by a person not influenced by the commentaries but with the author of the *Gita* as his sole guide. The contents of the book may be divided into three parts. The first is an elaborate introduction (covering about 60 pages), the second gives the text of the *Gita* with literal translation and copious explanatory notes on difficult stanzas and the last is a small series of appendices containing some reflections and additional notes.

In the Introduction, the author compares the *Gita* with Sankhya, Yogasutras of Pathanjali, Buddhism, Saivism and the Upanishads. He points out that though the *Gita* has many views in common with the others it is individualistic in its essential character. The Sankhya and the Yoga systems are atheistic and do not mention that the only object of meditation and the Goal is the Brahman, while this point is emphasised at every stage in the *Gita*. Buddhism and the *Gita* are compared at great length and the influence of Buddhism over the *Gita* thought is pointed out in detail. The author is of opinion that the *Gita* came into existence after Buddhism while famous scholars like Prof. Garbe and Telang have disagreed on the point. Regarding Saivism the author points out that the *Gita* being a purely Vaishnava work, it does not even mention the name of Siva, except as a Vibhuti of Vishnu. He mentions that "the author (of the *Gita*) has smoothed over differences with Shaivism with his usual skill without rousing any suspicions as to his partiality one way or the other. This is his method throughout. He adopted it in regard to Buddhism as well as Sankhya and he has adopted it again in respect to Saivism. Of course there is no strident sectarian spirit but a way of differing which is entirely the author's own." (p. 64). The introduction ends with a chapter on 'The Gita and Bhakti' which is the main theme of the *Gita* as

Sri Krishna says, 'सर्व धर्मान्परित्यज्य मामेकं शरणं ब्रज'. In the words of the present author, 'Devotion is thus the full fruition of spiritual concentration and a true Bhakta will be nothing else but a channel of his will.' "A bird's eye-view of the *Gita* thought" at the end of the Introduction gives the real gist of the *Gita*.

The translation of the text and the notes on some stanzas are certainly excellent. Parallel quotations and thoughts from many Upanishads and observations by European scholars are found in large numbers in their proper places. Extracts from Buddhistic texts are the most prominent ones in the notes. Explanations are lucid and clear so that even a layman can follow them without any difficulty. In a word, a student of the *Gita* finds this 'Study' an excellent guide which gives him food for thought and references to study contemporary views on the subject. From the beginning to the end the book is very interesting to read.

One point, however, seems to be left untouched. In his Introduction (p. 4) the author says, 'the Sankhya postulates a duality of Purusha and Prakriti. The *Gita* refers to this duality when it says "know Prakriti and Purusha both to be without beginning. Know all Vikaras and Gunas to be produced from Prakriti" (XIII. 19). But the *Gita* ultimately dissolves this duality. It does not recognise the independent existence of either Purusha or Prakriti.' In support of this view he quotes VII. 4—7, IX. 4—8, 10 and 18 (earlier chapters). Yet Richard Garbe writes in the *Encyclopaedia of Religions* that the *Gita* thought is essentially dualistic.

On the whole the book is an excellent treatise as a study of the *Gita* thought and deserves to be read by everyone who has a regard for the greatness of the *Gita* which is ranked among the Upanishads. The nice printing and get-up of the book make it the more attractive and pleasant to read.

N. K. N.

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## Chemistry.

### An Eleventh Century Arabic Chemical Treatise.

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"WOULD to God all men might become adepts in our own art, for their gold, the great idol of mankind, would lose its value, and we should prize it only for its scientific teaching." This is the remark of a seventeenth century alchemist of Europe.

The Arabic treatise of the eleventh century shows that chemical science in the Middle East was almost exclusively devoted to a study of the common metals and their compounds. The chief guiding idea is the possibility of transmuting baser metals into gold. The baser metals were supposed to be diseased gold. Mercury was called 'ailing silver'. This is only the modern orthodox scientific standpoint of view. If we look at the details of the practical methods employed for distillation, cupellation and preparation of compounds, it is remarkable that as early as the eleventh century these methods contained the fundamental points which underlie all the present-day methods. Though some of the details seem superfluous to-day,

they yet reveal the fact that the East had a sound knowledge of experimental science like chemistry.

The motive may not be truly scientific: yet, though alchemy itself is dead, its spiritual part lives. The alchemists were working chemists of the day. They laid the foundations of experimental science.

R.

## Trilochana Pallava and Karikala Chola.

BY N. VENKATARAMAYYA, M.A., PH.D.

ACCORDING to the author Trilochana Pallava was no "mythical figure" as the late Rao Bahadur H. Krishna Sastri declared but a real historical figure in flesh and blood. He has collected together a mass of evidence to establish this and placed them before the reader. Trilochana may have been a real personage on the authority of the late Venkayya and Prof. V. Rangachari but the author has not been able to find a place for Trilochana in the Vayalur and Velurpalyam plates, the earliest ones for the Pallava genealogy. Was Trilochana a Pallava emperor of Kanchi or only a Telugu Pallava chief? The array of evidence adduced tends to incline us however to the latter view.

Regarding the contemporaneity of Karikala, opinion seems to be veering round again to the idea that he was living about the fifth century A.D. and the accepted date of "Sangam Age" as the second century can thus no longer be maintained.

R.

## The Beginnings of Arts in Eastern India.

BY R. B. RAMA PRASAD CHANDA,

(*Mem. Arch. S. of India, No. 30.*)

THE late Dr. Spooner was the famous advocate of the Zoroastrianism of the Mauryan emperors. His idea did not receive any great acceptance in his time. In the memoirs under review, R. B. Chanda takes it up and tries to establish, in the architecture and administration of the Mauryans, the predominant influence of the Achæmenian Emperors.

While we cannot deny mutual exchange or borrowing of ideas, it is too much to assume that "the Mauryan Imperialism was an upshot of the Achæmenian Imperialism" (p. 17). The Asokan inscriptions are egoistic, and rhadamanthine, while the inscriptions of Darius breathe the humility and thankfulness of a servant of Ahura Mazda. "So great a champion of the Indo-Aryan cause," as Havell remarks, "would hardly be likely to celebrate the freedom of Aryavarta from the Macedonian yoke by imposing on it the intellectual domination of Persia."

R.

## CORRESPONDENCE.

### The Asvins.

TO

THE EDITOR, "QUARTERLY JOURNAL OF THE MYTHIC SOCIETY,"  
BANGALORE.

### "The Aswins."

BY DR. R. SHAMA SASTRY, B.A., PH.D., M.R.A.S.,  
in II Series, Vol. XX, No. 2, October 1929, pp. 80 to 88.

ADVERTING to the above article I submit as hereunder. *Sri Ramayanam* of the great sage and original poet, Vaalmeeeki, is as much an Ithihasam as the *Mahabharata* and has a name for its priority to the latter. Therein in the Yuddhakandam in Sarga 120, sloka 9, runs thus: "\*\*Asvinow chaapi te karnow chandra-sooryow cha chakshushee\*\*" meaning "\*\*Also the two Aśvins are your two ears and the sun and the moon your two eyes.\*\*" This is so said by the congregation of the gods (*i.e.*, devas) in addressing Sri Rama on his condemnation of Seeta and her diving into flames to assert her chastity in thought, word and deed. This, in my humble opinion, does not support your conclusion that the Aśvins are sun and moon. Are we not to dive deeper and search for more accurate knowledge about the two Aśvins than form doubtful conclusions? Several contexts and texts affirm that "Aśvins" are twin deities on horseback or celestial forces different from sun and moon, night and day, etc. They are in Tamil described as "aśvini aru meen kudirai thalai pole" meaning that the constellation of 'Aśvini' consists of six stars arranged as a horse's face. They are said to be celestial twin physicians and surgeons in the various scriptures of the East. They are reputed fathers respectively of Nakula and Sahadeva (step-brothers of Yudhisthira, Bheema and Arjuna of *Sri Mahabharata*) excelling all others in their knowledge of medicine and surgery especially of cattle and horses (*vide* Virāta Parva). In *Sri Ramayana* their sons are Manidan and Devirdan, twin commanders of the monkey army that helped Sri Rama in conquering Ravana. Thus, these and other authenticated scripts of the East single them out of other celestial forces or gods or deities in very clear terms giving no room for confusion of any sort, and show that they are separate forces and entities by themselves.

Yours sincerely,

T. KRISHNASWAMI AIYENGAR.

[Note :—The sons of Sun and Indra are respectively Sugreeva and Vali in the *Sri Ramayana* and Karna and Arjuna in the *Sri Mahabharata*.]

*Mysore*, 18-12-29.

TO  
 THE SECRETARY,  
 "THE MYTHIC SOCIETY,"

BANGALORE.

DEAR SIR,

Thanks for your kind letter No. 217, dated 16th, enclosing the opinion of Mr. T. Krishnaswami Iyengar on the Mahābhāratic interpretation of the Aśvin gods.

Contradictions of the kind pointed out by Mr. Iyengar are found in the Rigveda itself. In the marriage hymn of Sūryā with the moon the Aśvins are described as brides-maids. These are occasional poetical fancies concealing for the time being the identity of the gods concerned. As to the Rāmāyana verse identifying the Aśvins with the ears, I may draw the attention of Mr. Iyengar to Prof. Jacobi's opinion that such verses as speak of Rāma as an incarnation of Vishnu are later interpolations. The Mahābhārata verses identifying the Aśvins with the sun and the moon are in Gāthā style and are composed in Vedic language. Hence the verses seem to be older than the Rāmāyana verse quoted by Mr. Iyengar. The question whether the Mahābhārata or the Rāmāyana is earlier need not be discussed here. For the Rāmāyana verse is an interpolation and the Mahābhārata verses appear to be ancient Gāthā verses quoted in the work.

My aim in publishing the epic interpretation of the Aśvins was rather to point out the view of the ancients than to emphasize their identity.

With best regards,

Yours sincerely,

R. SHAMA SASTRY.

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### Presented by:—

#### Government of Mysore—

1. Report of the Administration of the Geological Department for the year 1928-29.
2. Report on the Administration of Mysore for the year 1928-29.

#### *Rajamantrapavina*

#### C. S. Balasundaram Iyer, Esq., B.A.—

1. Chalukya Genealogy according to the Kannada Poet Ranna—by R. Narasimhachar.
2. Travancore Archæological Series—  
Nos. 1 & 2; 3; 4 & 5; 6; 7; 8; 9, 10 & 11; 12; 14; 15; 16; Vol. II, Part 1 (two copies); II—2; II—3; III—1; III—2; and V—1.
3. Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland.  
1914—1, 2, 3, 4; 1915—1 (two copies), 2, 3, 4; 1916—1, 2, 3, 4;  
1917—1, 2, 3, 4; 1918—1, 3 & 4; 1919—1, 2, 3, 4; 1922—2; 1927—  
1, 2; 1928—3; 1929—3.
4. 57 back issues of the Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society.

#### Prof. F. R. Sell, M.A.—

1. Tarikh-I-Ferishta.
2. History of Art, by Dr. Wilhelm Lubke: Translated by F. E. Bunnett,  
Vol. I.
3. Do. do. Vol. II.
4. Le Maroc, by R. J. Frisch.
5. Musalmans Français in North Africa, by Chatelier.
6. Religion des Druzes, by S. De Sacy—Tome I.
7. Do. do. II.
8. L'Islamisme, by Garcin de Tassy.
9. Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society: 1926, Part III.
10. Musalmans Chinois, by Vissiere.
11. Melanges de Philosophie Juive et Arabe, by S. Nunk.
12. Archives Marocaines—Vol. XVI.
13. L'Islam in W. Africa, by Chatelier.
14. Le Mahometisme en Chine—Vol. I.
15. Do. do. II.
16. Arab Domination sous le Khalifat des Omayyades.
17. Historie et Religion des Nosairis, by René Dussaud.
18. Politique Musulmane de la Hollande, by C. Snouch Hurgronje.
19. Was hat Mohammed aus dem Judenthume Aufgenommen, by Abraham Geiger.

**S. Srikantaiya, Esq., B.A., B.L., M.R.A.S.—**

Mysore Archæological Reports—

1902, 03, 04, 05, 06, 10, 16, 18, 23, 25, 26, 27 (2 copies) and 1928.

**Smithsonian Institution, Washington—**

Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections, Vol. 81, No. 14 : Prehistoric Art of the Alaskan Eskimo, by Henry B. Collins, Jr.

**Bihar and Orissa Research Society, Patna—**

An Account of the District of Purnea in 1809-10, by Francis Buchanan :

Edited from the Buchanan MSS., by V. H. Jackson.

**Adyar Library, Adyar, Madras—**

Rukminikalyana Mahakavya of Sri Rajachudamani Dikshita with the Commentary Mauktikamalika of Sri Balayajnadevesvara : Edited by the Pandits of the Adyar Library.

**Authors—**

1. Word-Parallels Between Dravidian and other Language-Families, by L. V. Ramaswami Aiyar. (A reprint from Educational Review : Jan. 1930).
2. Mandaravati : (A Romance in Sanskrit Prose), by K. Krishnamacharya.
3. Studies in Dravidian Semantics, by L. V. Ramaswami Aiyar. (A reprint from the Journal of the Madras University).
4. Kampila and Vijayanagara, by N. Venkata Ramanayya.
5. Pre-Musalman India, by V. Rangacharya, M.A.

**Punjab Sanskrit Book Depot—**

Indices and Appendices to the Nirukta, by Lakshman Sarup.

**Government of Burma—**

Burma Gazetteer : Shwabo District, Vol. A.

**Asiatic Society of Bengal—**

1. Bibliotheca Indica : (A Collection of Oriental Works published by the Asiatic Society of Bengal) : Catalogue of Works Relating to Indian Culture (1929).
2. Do. do. Islamic Culture (1929).

**Government Museum, Madras—**

Bulletin of the Madras Government Museum, Edited by the Superintendent : (New Series : Gen. Sec. Vol. I, Part I.) Buddhist Sculptures from a Stupa near Goli Village, Guntur District, by T. N. Ramachandran, M.A.

**Karnataka Sangha, Maharaja's College, Mysore—**

Thaliru (Short verses in Kannada).

**By Purchase:—**

1. General Memorandum on Mysore, Etc.
2. Mysore Letters and Despatches of the Duke of Wellington : 1799—1805 (Mysore Government Press).
3. Mysore Pradhans, by M. A. Narayana Iyengar and M. A. Srinivasachar.
4. Indian Annual Register : 1929, Vol. I—January to June. (Mitra)

5. Sir Ashutosh Mukerji Memorial Volumes : Vol. I.
6. Do. do. II.
7. Do. do. III, Part 1.
8. Do. do. do. 2.
9. Do. do. do. 3.
10. Jatakamala, by H. Kern (Harward).
11. Kadambari. by Bana, Edited by Pandurang Parab.
12. Vasavadatta of Subhandu.
13. Sishupalavadha of Magha.
14. Kiratarjunia, by Bhavani.
15. Dhaturupamuktavali.
16. Vaikarana Siddhanta Kaumudi.
17. Vedic Kosa, by Hamsaraja.
18. Nagananda of Sriharsha.
19. Srutigitam.
20. Raghuvamsha.
21. Aitareya Brahmana, by Keith.
22. Ten Upanishads, by Sitavalli Tatwa Bhushana.
23. Nalopakhyaana, by M. Williams.
24. Notes on do.
25. Rigveda, 2 volumes.
26. Vishnusahasranama.
27. Swapnavasavadattam, by Bhasa.
28. Champuramayana : Ayodhyakanda, English Translation.
29. Subhashita Nivi.
30. Sanscrit Grammar, by M. Williams.
31. Do. do. MaxMuller.
32. Do. do. Key, 2 volumes.
33. Classical Dictionary, Pouson.
34. Mahabharata : Virataparva, by Bakle.
35. Do. Udyogaparva, by Bakle.

## EXCHANGES.

---

Editors of:—

1. "HINDUSTAN REVIEW," *P.O. Box No. 2139, Calcutta.*
2. "INDIAN ANTIQUARY," *British India Press, Mazagaon, Bombay.*
3. "MODERN REVIEW," *120/2, Upper Circular Road, Calcutta.*
4. "THE HINDU MESSAGE," *Srirangam.*
5. "WEDNESDAY REVIEW," *Teppakulam, Trichinopoly.*
6. "THE SOUTH INDIAN RESEARCH," *Vepey, Madras.*
7. "THE EASTERN BUDDHIST," *39, Ono Machi, Koyama, Kyoto (Japan).*
8. "THE CHRISTIAN COLLEGE MAGAZINE," *Madras.*
9. "THE EDUCATIONAL REVIEW," *Mount Road, Madras.*
10. "THE VEDIC MAGAZINE," *Gurukula, Kangri, District Bijnor.*
11. "ZEITSCHRIFT DER DEUTSCHEN MORGENLANDISCHEN  
GESELLSCHAFT," *Halle, Germany.*
12. "THE SANSKRIT BHARATHI," *Burdwan, Bengal.*
13. "THE JOURNAL OF THE AMERICAN ORIENTAL SOCIETY,"  
*New Haven, Connecticut, U.S.A.*
14. "THE KALPAKA," *Tinnevely.*
15. "EVERYMAN'S REVIEW," *Madras.*
16. "MAN," *The Royal Anthropological Institute, London.*
17. "DJAWA," *Kanarillaan, Kadipolo, Solo.*
18. "MAN IN INDIA," *Ranchi, B.N.Ry. (India).*
19. "THE KARNATAKA GRANTHAMALA," *Mysore.*
20. "THE EVENING MAIL," *New Tharagupet, Bangalore City.*
21. "THE JAINA GAZETTE," *436, Mint Street, Madras.*
22. "THE INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER," *Navsari Chambers,  
Outram Road (opposite Hornby Road), Fort, Bombay.*
23. "PRABUDDHA BHARATA," *Advaita Asrama, Mayavati P.O.,  
Almora Dist.*
24. "THE SHAMA'A," *Aghore Mandir, San Thome, Madras.*
25. "VISHVA-BHARATHI," *10, Cornwallis Street, Calcutta.*
26. "NAVASHAKTI," *Dharwar.*
27. "THE SHRINE OF WISDOM," *Aahlu, 6, Hermon Hill, London, E. 11.*
28. "WELFARE," *91, Upper Circular Road, Calcutta.*
29. "MYSORE BLUE BOOK AND PUBLICITY JOURNAL," *Bangalore.*



30. "BUDDHIST ANNUAL OF CEYLON," *Colombo.*
31. "KARNATAKA SAHITYA PARISHATPATRIKA," *Bangalore.*
32. "EPIGRAPHIA INDO-MOSLEMICA," *Simla.*
33. "YOGAMIMAMSA," *Kunjavana, Lonavla, Bombay.*
34. "MAHARAJA'S SANSKRIT COLLEGE MAGAZINE," *Mysore.*
35. "THE MYSORE GAZETTE," *Librarian, Public Offices, Bangalore.*
36. "PRABUDDHA KARNATAKA," *Karnataka Sangha, Central College, Bangalore.*
37. "INDIAN STORY TELLER," 164, *Cornwallis Street, Calcutta.*
38. "THE GUARDIAN," 86, *College Street, Calcutta.*
39. "THE YOUNG MEN OF INDIA," 5, *Russell Street, Calcutta.*
40. "THE PREMA," *Tungabhadra P.O.*
41. "AL-KALAM," *Bangalore.*
42. "VRITTANTA PATRIKA," *Mysore.*
43. "MYSORE CO-OPERATIVE JOURNAL,"  
*No. 1, 1st Road, Chamarajapet, Bangalore City.*
44. "INDIAN HISTORICAL QUARTERLY," 107, *Mechuabazar Street, Calcutta.*
45. "THE PHILOSOPHICAL QUARTERLY," *Amalner (East Khandesh).*
46. "THE KARNATAKA," *Basavangudi P.O., Bangalore City.*
47. "RANGABHUMI," *Basavangudi, Bangalore City.*
48. "INDIAN REVIEW," *George Town, Madras.*
49. "THE VEDANTA KESARI," *Ramakrishna Mutt, Mylapore, Madras.*
50. "JOURNAL OF INDIAN HISTORY," *Sri Jayavasam, East Mada Street, Madras.*
51. "ASIA MAJOR," 2, *Store Road, Ballygunge, Calcutta.*
52. "THE MYSORE ECONOMIC JOURNAL," *Gundopunt Street, Bangalore City.*
53. "THE CATHOLIC EDUCATIONAL REVIEW," *Mangalore.*
54. "THE INDIAN THINKER," *Anantha Rama Varma Press, Fort, Trivandrum.*
55. "RURAL INDIA," No. 9, *Brodie's Road, Mylapore, Madras.*
56. "SWADHARMA," No. 1647, *Desai Oni, Dharwar.*
57. "BHARATI," *Post Box No. 212, Madras.*
58. "SANATHANA DHARMA SANJIVINI," No. 445, *Kempananjamba Agrahar, Mysore.*
59. "VISWA-KARNATAKA," *New Tharagupet, Bangalore City.*
60. "THE HUMANIST," *Jayabhavan, Gangadhara Chetty Road, Bangalore.*
61. "THE MYSORE UNIVERSITY JOURNAL," *University, Mysore.*

62. "FEDERATED INDIA," 323, *Trivattiyur High Road, Tondiarpet, Madras.*
63. "KATHANJALI," "Annapurna," *Viveśvarapuram, Bangalore City.*
64. "JAYAKARNATAKA," *Dharwar.*
65. "JOURNAL OF ORIENTAL RESEARCH," *Madras.*

**Publications from :—**

66. THE DIRECTOR OF PUBLIC INSTRUCTION, *Poona.*
67. THE DIRECTOR-GENERAL OF ARCHÆOLOGY, *Simla.*
68. THE DIRECTOR OF ARCHÆOLOGICAL RESEARCHES IN  
MYSORE, *Mysore.*
69. THE GENERAL SECRETARY, BIHAR & ORISSA RESEARCH  
SOCIETY, *Patna.*
70. Do. "THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY,"  
*Bombay Branch, Bombay.*
71. THE GENERAL SECRETARY, ASIATIC SOCIETY OF BENGAL,  
*1, Park Street, Calcutta.*
72. THE GENERAL SECRETARY, THE INDO-FRENCH HISTORICAL  
SOCIETY, *Pondicherry.*
73. THE GENERAL MUSEUM OF FINE ARTS, *Boston, Mass., U.S.A.*
74. THE REGISTRAR, *Chief Secretariat, Fort St. George, Madras.*
75. THE REGISTRAR, MYSORE UNIVERSITY, *Mysore.*
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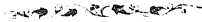
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THE EXPLOITS OF  
KING KAMPILA AND KUMĀRA RĀMANĀTHA

(Ganga's version)

BY  
M. H. RAMA SHARMA, M.R.A.S.



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# STUDIES IN VIJAYANAGARA HISTORY.

BY M. H. RAMA SHARMA, ESQ., M.R.A.S.

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## III. THE EXPLOITS OF KAMPILA AND KUMARA RAMANATHA.\*

[Introductory Note :—This article is a summary of the Kannada work *Kumāra-Rāmana-Sāngatya* by the poet Ganga. The copy consulted is the palm leaf manuscript marked #1—1913 in the Catalogue of the Oriental Library at Mysore. In all it contains 7 cantos and 2,670 verses; but the latter are numbered 3082.<sup>1</sup> It is in *Sāngatya* metre, its style being simple and spirited. According to the poet's own statement, he was a Pāñchāla by caste. By his special homage to Śiva, he may be taken to have been a Śaiva. His particular reference to the deities at Nanjangood and Tagadûr,<sup>2</sup> a place close to it, leads us to infer that he must have been a native of one of these two places. There is no internal evidence by which his date can be settled. As in the case of Nanjunda's *Paradāra-Sōdara-Rāmana-Kathe*, the reference to a Krishna Rāya<sup>3</sup> is, without doubt, to Sri Krishna of Dwāraka. However, according to Rao Bahadur R. Narasimhacharya he may be taken for the present, to have lived *circa* 1650.<sup>4</sup>]

BEFORE beginning his work, the poet invokes the blessings of the Hindu deities like Gaṇapati, Gaṇālapurada<sup>5</sup> Nanjundēśa, Tagadûr Vighnarāja and Sarasvati. Then he pays his homage to such earlier poets like Bāgoori,<sup>6</sup> Magagāle<sup>7</sup> (?), Halāyudha,<sup>8</sup> Rāgavaṇṭa<sup>9</sup> (Rāghavāṅka) and Vālmiki.<sup>10</sup> Then taking up the thread of his narrative, he says:—

### The Situation of Kummata and Hosadurga.

In Karnāṭaka<sup>11</sup> close to the river Tungabhadra and adjacent to Hampi<sup>12</sup> there was a fort called Kummata or Kummāṭa Durga.<sup>13</sup> Near by was Hosamale<sup>14</sup> in which was Hosadurga<sup>15</sup> or Chenniga Rāmana Durga.<sup>16</sup>

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\* In the usual course this article was intended for publication in the January 1930 number of this Journal, but, on account of some unexpected reasons, had to be hurried through as a Supplement.

<sup>1</sup> Rao Bahadur R. Narasimhacharya says that there are 3,128 verses. The title of the work he gives is *Kumata-Rāmana-Kathe*; see *Kannada Poets*, Vol. II, p. 423.

<sup>2</sup> Both in Mysore District.

<sup>4</sup> See his *Karnataka Kavicharite*, Vol. II, p. 423.

<sup>3</sup> Canto I, v. 8.

<sup>5</sup> Nanjangood, about 12 miles south of Mysore.

<sup>6</sup> C. I, v. 16; Bhāguri, according to *Karnataka Kavicharite*, Vol. II, p. 423.

<sup>7</sup> C. I, v. 16; Aggala of date 1189, see *ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 223

<sup>8</sup> C. I, v. 16.

<sup>9</sup> C. I, v. 16.; *circa* 1165, *ibid.* p. 180

<sup>10</sup> C. I, v. 16.

<sup>11</sup> C. III, v. 19.

<sup>12</sup> C. III, v. 73; C. VII, v. 50, 54 and 55.

<sup>14</sup> C. III, v. 39, 45 and 46.

<sup>13</sup> C. III, v. 59; C. III, v. 91.

<sup>15</sup> C. IV, v. 458; C. VII, v. 2.

<sup>16</sup> C. VII, v. 30; by the description given of the situation of these places, we are tempted to identify Hosamale with Rāmanamale and Hosadurga with Rāmana Durga, both in Sandur State, Bellary District. It is possible that these were called after Rāma, in later years, but this needs further investigation.

### King Kampila and his Family.

This hilly tract<sup>1</sup> of Kummata was ruled over by King Kampila, son of Mummaḍi Śinga.<sup>2</sup> Kampila was a great warrior and had overcome the Tuluvās.<sup>3</sup> He was a Bēdar<sup>4</sup> by caste and probably a Śaivite<sup>5</sup> by creed, his family deity being Jaṭāṅgi-Ramēśvara.<sup>6</sup> He had at least six wives, Hariamma, Kannāji, Haṁpāji, Singāji, Siramaṇi and Ratnāji.<sup>7</sup> Of these, though the first was the queen-consort, yet the object of his love was the youngest, Ratnāji, who was his sister's daughter.<sup>8</sup> In addition to other sons, Kampila had by Hariamma two sons Kāṭaṇṇa and Rāmanātha<sup>9</sup> and two daughters Māramma and Singamma.<sup>10</sup> Baichappa,<sup>11</sup> Māva Mallika Rāja and Bāva Bhairava<sup>12</sup> were his ministers, the first being the chief.<sup>13</sup> Rāmanātha had five wives<sup>14</sup> among whom Hiriyamma and Variyamma<sup>15</sup> were better known.

### Ramanatha's Early Career.

As Kampila felt he was growing old,<sup>16</sup> he entrusted the administration of the state to his son Kumāra Rāmanātha. Though younger than Kāṭaṇṇa, Rāmanātha was by far the abler. By sixteen he had distinguished himself as a great wrestler.<sup>17</sup> He had struck terror into the hearts of the Tuluvās, the Mālwas, the Sāluvas, Muṅgōji Rāyas, Baṅgoji Rāyas, Baḍagōji Rāyas and Timmayya of Gaṇṭanoor.<sup>18</sup> He had humbled even the powerful Vīra Ballāla<sup>19</sup> and routed Nēmi's invading army.<sup>20</sup> As a result of this, chiefs from eight quarters paid him tributes.<sup>21</sup>

These extraordinary victories had brought him the titles of *Mūru-Rāyara-gaṇḍa*,<sup>22</sup> *Mūḍa-Ṭenkaṇa-Baḍaga-Paḍuva-Rāyara-gaṇḍa*,<sup>23</sup> *Chappanna-Dēśada-Manneyara-gaṇḍa*, *Mālava-Rāyara-gaṇḍa*,<sup>24</sup> *Bālōva-Rāyara-gaṇḍa*,<sup>25</sup> *Ari-Rāya-Mārtāṇḍa*, *Para-Bala-Mastuka-Śūla*, *Duradhira-Śa (ra?) bha-Bērūṇḍa*, *Māluva-Rāyara-gaṇḍa*, *Sāluva-Rāyara-gaṇḍa*, *Muṅgōji-Rāyara-gaṇḍa*, *Jāluva-Rāyara-gaṇḍa*, *Baṅgōji-Rāyara-gaṇḍa*, *Baḍagōji-Rāyara-gaṇḍa*, *Koṭṭa-Bhāsege-Tappuva-Rāyara-gaṇḍa*,<sup>26</sup> *Navalakṣa-Turu-*

<sup>1</sup> C. VII, v. 54.

<sup>2</sup> C. III, v. 101, 127,

<sup>3</sup> C. IV, v. 297.

<sup>4</sup> C. I, v. 32, 33; C. VII, v. 74.

<sup>5</sup> C. I, v. 40, 57, 314.

<sup>6</sup> There is a temple for this deity close to Siddāpura, in Molakalmūru Taluq, Mysore State.

<sup>7</sup> C. IV, v. 295-299.

<sup>17</sup> C. I, v. 18.

<sup>8</sup> C. IV, v. 221.

<sup>18</sup> C. III, v. 225-231; C. VII, v. 325; C. III, v. 387.

<sup>9</sup> C. VII, v. 354; C. I, v. 156, 157.

<sup>19</sup> C. III, v. 185, 186; C. I, v. 108.

<sup>10</sup> C. I, v. 57, 58.

<sup>20</sup> C. V, v. 162; C. VI, v. 25.

<sup>11</sup> C. IV, v. 365, 366.

<sup>21</sup> C. I, v. 392; C. III, v. 187.

<sup>12</sup> C. IV, v. 414.

<sup>22</sup> C. III, v. 221.

<sup>13</sup> C. III, v. 376.

<sup>23</sup> C. III, v. 222-224.

<sup>14</sup> C. III, v. 139; C. IV, v. 517; C. VII, v. 245.

<sup>24</sup> C. VI, v. 23-28.

<sup>15</sup> C. I, v. 55, 56.

<sup>25</sup> C. VII, v. 431.

<sup>16</sup> C. IV, v. 85, 222, 223, 332; C. VI, v. 2.

<sup>26</sup> C. III, v. 225-231.

*kara-gaṇḍa*,<sup>1</sup> *Dillīya-gaṇḍa*, *Suritāḷana-minda*,<sup>2</sup> and *Hinduva-Rāyara-gaṇḍa*.<sup>3</sup>

### The Jagadapi War.

Once, the *Suritāḷa* (Sultān) of *Dillī* sent his army (to the south) to collect tributes.<sup>4</sup> It had a triumphant march over many countries.<sup>5</sup> Proceeding further it came to *Kummāṭa Dūrḡa*, demanding tribute in an insolent manner. This was by carrying a *pāpōsu* (shoe) in a *palanquin*, perhaps as a symbol of his power. Feeling highly insulted at this, *Rāmanātha* broke the *palanquin* to pieces and belaboured the attendants who followed it.<sup>6</sup> Thus disgraced, the Sultān's representatives sought refuge under a certain *Jagadāpi*<sup>7</sup> of *Gutti*.<sup>8</sup>

*Rājādhirāja Sri Jagadāpi* was a *Teluga* by descent.<sup>9</sup> When he heard that the *Dillī* army had been defied by *Rāmanātha*, his indignation knew no bounds. He, therefore, collected his forces and putting himself at their head moved against *Kummāṭa*.<sup>10</sup> Destroying (on his way) the nobles of *Mālava*, *Magada*, *Barbhara*,<sup>11</sup> *Pāṇḍya* and *Nēpāla*,<sup>12</sup> he came, encamped on (the plains of) *Santemāḷa*<sup>13</sup> and laid siege to *Kummāṭa Dūrḡa*.<sup>14</sup>

This news having reached *Rāmanātha*, the next morning, he took up his sword and set out with an army to meet his enemy. Soon after, both the forces met each other and battle commenced in earnest. While *Rāmanātha*'s bodyguards attacked the enemies from one side, he himself attacked them from the other. Thus overpowered by fierce attacks from two sides, *Jagadāpi*'s army met with defeat and took to flight.<sup>15</sup> Out of the booty captured, *Rāmanātha* sent ten horses to his father *Kaṁpila*.<sup>16</sup> Pleased with his valour (?) *Jagadāpi* gave his daughter in marriage to *Rāmanātha*.<sup>17</sup>

### Differences between *Kaṁpila* and *Ramanatha*.

The horses which *Rāmanātha* had sent to his father (as a token of affection) were given away by him to his other sons. *Rāmanātha* was much displeased with this. He, therefore, lost no chance, even in his father's presence, of teasing his brothers as mere parasites living upon his glories. Irritated by this attitude of his son, *Kaṁpila* asked him to prove his mettle

<sup>1</sup> C. IV, v. 498.

<sup>2</sup> C. VII, v. 432-436.

<sup>3</sup> C. VII, v. 29.

<sup>4</sup> C. I, v. 22.

<sup>6</sup> C. I, v. 25.

<sup>5</sup> C. I, v. 23.

<sup>7</sup> C. I, v. 26.

<sup>8</sup> C. I, v. 48; I have not been able to come across any contemporary inscription directly in his name. Among others, the earliest, so far, that connects his name with *Gutti* is of 1497 A.D. See 429 of 1920, *M. E. R.*

<sup>9</sup> C. I, v. 34.

<sup>10</sup> C. I, v. 34.

<sup>11</sup> In many a place, even the wrong spelling in the original is reproduced as it is here.

<sup>12</sup> C. I, v. 34, 35.

<sup>13</sup> C. I, v. 38.

<sup>14</sup> C. I, v. 37.

<sup>15</sup> C. I, v. 46, 53, 54, 101; C. III, v. 386; C. I, v. 390.

<sup>17</sup> C. I, v. 391.

<sup>16</sup> C. I, v. 50, 51.



by capturing Yappati Râja<sup>1</sup> and his horse Bolla. Accordingly, Râmanâtha vowed that he would bring Yappati Râja and Bolla, and cut to pieces the army of Vêrugallu Rudra Râya.<sup>2</sup>

### Expedition against Warangal.

Vêrugallu (Wârangal), which was eight *gâvudas*<sup>3</sup> in area, was at this time ruled over by king Pratâpa Rudra,<sup>4</sup> otherwise called Êkâdaśa Rudra<sup>5</sup> or Rudra Râya.<sup>6</sup> His son Yappati Râja had already made himself famous by overcoming Sâluva Râya, Dillîya Suritâla, Nêmi and the kings of Maleyâla, Drâviḍa, Ândhra, Singaṇa, Konkaṇa, Ballâla and Changa Râya.<sup>7</sup> He had as his commander-in-chief Dêvi Settiya Lingaṇṇa, also called Pogâdi Linga<sup>8</sup> and Angâdi Linga.<sup>9</sup> Among his ministers were Mâdhava Râya and Bôja Râya.<sup>10</sup>

He had a horse called Bolla. This horse was at first in Châma Râya's<sup>11</sup> territories. Finding it impossible to manage it, that chief sent it to Muṅgali Râya<sup>12</sup> who in turn sent it away to the Suritâla of Dillî.<sup>13</sup> The Pâchcha (Pâsha) also finding it unmanageable, wrote a message to Vêrugallu offering to sell the horse.<sup>14</sup> King Rudra sent Dêvi Setty Lingaṇṇa to Dillî to purchase it.<sup>15</sup> Lingaṇṇa after paying one lakh of gold (ಪೊಂಸ) brought it with him. Both Rudra and Yappati being pleased with his (Dêvi Setty's) mission, the *daḷavâyi*<sup>16</sup> ring was conferred upon him.<sup>17</sup>

Thus, this horse had excited the jealousy of one and all. As Râma had promised to bring it, Kâmpila equipped him with an army numbering 11,000 *nyâjâ*, 200 Tuḷuvâs, 300 camp-followers<sup>18</sup> (ಸೇವಕರು), 8,000 infantry and 1,000 horse.<sup>19</sup> Having made up his mind to bring Bolla within eight or ten days,<sup>20</sup> Râmuga<sup>21</sup> ordered this force to march northwards to Vêrugallu.<sup>22</sup> Among those who went with him were Holeyara Huḷla, Aḷiya Singaṇṇa, Sangaṇṇa, and Jangama Basavaṇṇa.<sup>23</sup> They encamped close to Guṇḍa Brahmaiyya temple<sup>24</sup> and sent word through Guru Linga, leader of the *golla sthânâpatis*<sup>25</sup> to Dêvi Settiya Lingaṇṇa, who in turn told it to Rudra Râya. Learning from

<sup>1</sup> This person, a son of Pratâpa Rudra, according to our poet, is not known to us, so far, under this name.

<sup>2</sup> C. I, v. 113, 114.

<sup>3</sup> C. I, v. 301; an Indian league containing 10 to 12 English miles (*Kittel*).

<sup>4</sup> C. I, v. 177.

<sup>10</sup> C. I, v. 372.

<sup>16</sup> Commander-in-chief.

<sup>5</sup> C. I, v. 186.

<sup>11</sup> C. II, v. 153.

<sup>17</sup> C. II, v. 176.

<sup>6</sup> C. I, v. 178, 187, 188.

<sup>12</sup> C. II, v. 161.

<sup>18</sup> C. I, v. 168.

<sup>7</sup> C. II, v. 190-192.

<sup>13</sup> C. II, v. 163.

<sup>19</sup> C. I, v. 171.

<sup>8</sup> C. II, v. 53.

<sup>14</sup> C. II, v. 167, 168.

<sup>20</sup> C. I, v. 162.

<sup>9</sup> C. II, v. 25.

<sup>15</sup> C. II, v. 169.

<sup>21</sup> Ganga calls Râmanâtha by various endearing names as this.

<sup>22</sup> C. I, v. 167.

<sup>24</sup> C. I, v. 174.

<sup>23</sup> C. I, v. 290-292.

<sup>25</sup> C. I, v. 180.

them the object of Râma's coming, Rudra Râya instructed them (officers) to bring him (Râmanâtha) the next day as that day was *Vaidruti*.<sup>1</sup> Accordingly, after sunset, Chenniga Râma took his bath and then after offering prayers to Guṇḍa Brahmaiyya that he would perform *Śûlada-habba*<sup>2</sup> if he made Yappati Râja and Bolla fall into his hands,<sup>3</sup> went to bed.

Next morning, Rudra<sup>4</sup> ordered *Daḷavâyi* Lingaṇṇa to bring Râma. Accordingly, he (Linga) set out on horseback. Meanwhile, this news having reached Râma, he and Kâṭa started to meet Daḷavâyi Dêvi Setty.<sup>5</sup> On seeing Râma, *Daḷavâyi* Lingaṇṇa of Vôrugallu was struck with his magnetic personality, and thought within himself that Râma was the fittest to be the ruler of the Kannaḍa country.<sup>6</sup> Thus moved, he decided within himself to give up the service of Rudra and die with Râma.<sup>7</sup> Presently, meeting each other, all the three entered the temple.<sup>8</sup> There, holding each other's hands, they vowed to work and die together.<sup>9</sup>

Thus encouraged by each other's assurance, they all started together for Rudra's palace. Passing through the *gadiyârada bâgilu*,<sup>10</sup> they got down (their horses) close to the place where Rudra was holding his *durbar*. King Rudra received Râma kindly and enquired of him the nature of his visit. At this, Râma narrated his whole story. By this time, darkness having set in, King Rudra instructed his commander-in-chief to look to the lodging arrangements of his guests.<sup>11</sup> Then they parted from each other agreeing to meet on the next day.<sup>12</sup>

A little while after their (the visitors') departure, Rudra Râya distributed presents to his courtiers.<sup>13</sup> No sooner had Chenna Râmayya reached his camp, than he, Kâṭa and Lingaṇṇa, returned to the palace and (in some mysterious way) squeezed themselves into Rudrâ's court-hall<sup>14</sup> (ಜಾಸಡಿ). In pitch darkness, when there was a heavy downpour of rain, Dêvi Settiya Lingaṇṇa and Kâṭaṇṇa got down the hall and went about with their followers proclaiming Râma's titles.<sup>15</sup> All the while, Râma kept smiling till he returned to his camp (ಬಿಡಡಿ). But Rudra Râya, on the other hand, was highly offended with what they had done. On consultation with his ministers

<sup>1</sup> Name of a particular position of the sun and moon (*yôga*) that is considered to be of a malignant aspect (*Kittil*).

<sup>2</sup> Name of a particular festival.

<sup>3</sup> C. I, v. 201.

<sup>4</sup> C. I, v. 230 ; Kumbâla-Kâyoḷu-Vaḍadu-Mûḍida-Rudra, that is, Rudra who was born by breaking open a pumpkin (!).

<sup>5</sup> C. I, v. 246.

<sup>11</sup> C. I, v. 346.

<sup>6</sup> C. I, v. 254.

<sup>12</sup> C. I, v. 350.

<sup>7</sup> C. I, v. 259.

<sup>13</sup> C. I, v. 353.

<sup>8</sup> C. I, v. 262.

<sup>14</sup> C. I, v. 354, 372.

<sup>9</sup> C. I, v. 266-269.

<sup>15</sup> C. I, v. 358-368.

<sup>10</sup> Clock-entrance.

Mâdhava Râya and Bôja Râya, he was told by them that all that had happened was due to the interview arranged by Linga.<sup>1</sup> Whereupon Rudra Râya sent for Lingaṇṇa and rebuked him severely.<sup>2</sup> But, Lingaṇṇa, unmindful of his sovereign's remarks, continued to pay in his presence glowing tributes to Kumâra Râmayya.<sup>3</sup> At this the Râya became hot with rage and calling Lingaṇṇa a traitor, snatched the *Daḷavayi* ring from his finger,<sup>4</sup> singed his beard and turned him out of the palace.<sup>5</sup> On his part, Lingaṇṇa warned Rudra of the impending danger and returned to Râma.<sup>6</sup> There, after discussing their plans, they finally settled to capture Rudra first, destroy his army, and then march against his son Yappati Râja.<sup>7</sup> As a first step in this direction, Lingaṇṇa set fire to his old house and brought away his family to Râmanâtha's camp.<sup>8</sup> This news having reached Rudra, he ordered the *gollas* to fetch Lingaṇṇa. But, this time Lingaṇṇa openly refused to obey his old master. Rudra, therefore, issued orders (to his officers) to gather 10,000,000 elephants and get ready for battle. The army when mobilized was divided into three columns<sup>9</sup> under the leadership of Yappati, who rode to the field of battle on the famous horse Bolla.

Meanwhile Râmanâtha kept carrying on his plundering raids.<sup>10</sup> The neighbourhood of Vôragal was burnt and pillaged.<sup>11</sup> People of all castes and communities fled in different directions<sup>12</sup> leaving their cattle to the mercy of the victors. At last, a hand-to-hand fight ensued between Râmanâtha and Yappati, in which the latter was forced to take to his heels<sup>13</sup> (and flee to his palace for refuge).

In this critical situation, all the Wârangal courtiers despaired of the future. At last, it was decided to send an army under Holeyara Vâba Nâyaka otherwise called Vâji Nâyaka.<sup>14</sup> Accordingly, this person rode to the battlefield, where after a conflict, he succeeded in killing 1,000 soldiers in Kâṭaṇṇa's army. In the end, it was with great difficulty that Kâṭa could save the day by cutting off Vâba Nâyaka's head.<sup>15</sup>

Enraged at this turn of events, Yappati dashed forward<sup>16</sup> and a severe struggle followed between his and Râma's forces. Gathering his terrified columns<sup>17</sup> together, Yappati kept up the most deadly fight. He told Râmuga not to risk his life in a foreign country<sup>18</sup> but go back quietly to his own. To this Chenniga Râma replied that probably Yappati did not know whom he was addressing. At last, Râma thrust his spear into Yappati's body, when

<sup>1</sup> C. I, v. 374.

<sup>2</sup> C. I, v. 384.

<sup>3</sup> C. I, v. 386-394.

<sup>4</sup> C. I, v. 400.

<sup>5</sup> C. I, v. 401, 403.

<sup>6</sup> C. I, v. 405.

<sup>7</sup> C. II, v. 10.

<sup>8</sup> C. II, v. 21, 44, 45.

<sup>9</sup> C. II, v. 79.

<sup>10</sup> C. II, v. 79.

<sup>11</sup> C. II, v. 80.

<sup>12</sup> C. II, v. 81-89.

<sup>13</sup> C. II, v. 96.

<sup>14</sup> C. II, v. 123.

<sup>15</sup> C. II, v. 136.

<sup>16</sup> C. II, v. 139.

<sup>17</sup> C. II, v. 183.

<sup>18</sup> C. II, v. 188.

the latter fell down senseless to the ground.<sup>1</sup> Immediately, Râma caught hold of the horse Bolla and mounted it. No sooner had their leader fallen down than the whole of the Wârangal army broke and fled in all directions.<sup>2</sup> Thus, after this victory, Râma, Kâta and Linganna started back (to their kingdom) with Yappati in a *palanquin*.<sup>3</sup> On their way, they halted in Guṇḍa Brahmaiyya temple.<sup>4</sup>

When this news reached Rudra, becoming overpowered with grief, he fainted. A short while after, recovering his senses, he decided to put an end to his life.<sup>5</sup> But at the advice of his ministers, he sent some valuable presents to Râmanâtha for the release of his son.<sup>6</sup> After consulting his brother and Linganna, Râma found that his vow had been fulfilled.<sup>7</sup> He, therefore, set free Yappati Râja.<sup>8</sup>

Meanwhile, in response to a message sent to him by his son, Kâmpila came to Bramhaiyya-nolya,<sup>9</sup> accompanied by his minister Baichappa. There, he blessed his sons for their extraordinary achievement. Then, after rewarding Linganna, the ex-commander-in-chief of Vôrugallu, he and his sons offered their worship to Guṇḍa Brahmaiyya. After this they all started<sup>10</sup> for Kummaṭa.<sup>11</sup> On their return, there were all-round rejoicings in the capital.

#### Ramanatha and the Amorous Ratnaji.

Once, in the month of Chaitra, when Kâmpila Râya went hunting to Hosamale,<sup>12</sup> Râmanâtha thought of spending his time in some sort of recreation. The first day, he went to the *Tungabhadra*<sup>13</sup> on a horse called *Révanta*, along with Kâta, Setty Linganna, Bâdura Khâna,<sup>14</sup> Malla, Hiruganna Mallanna, Hiriya Heraḷa Khâna, Haggâda Mallâ, Hâmpa Râja, Kempa Râja, Guruvânka Malla Râja, Singanna, Bâva Saṁganna, Aliya Tipayya, Gâniga Channa, Sonnâri Chikkaṇṇa and Maṁnûla Mâcha<sup>15</sup> and spent the time in boating. Then after offering prayers to Hâmpeya Virûpâkshaswâmi,<sup>16</sup> he returned to Hosapaṭṭana.<sup>17</sup> (The next day) he desired to spend in a ball-play. So he went to his mother Hariamma and asked her to give him the pearl-ball of his grandfather. Hariala Dêvi tried her best to dissuade her son from the impropriety of such a course, when his attention was urgently necessary in

<sup>1</sup> C. II, v. 224.

<sup>2</sup> C. II, v. 226.

<sup>3</sup> C. II, v. 228.

<sup>4</sup> C. II, v. 230.

<sup>5</sup> C. II, v. 232; this is evidently the same as Guṇḍa Brahmaiyya's temple.

<sup>6</sup> C. II, v. 237.

<sup>7</sup> C. II, v. 240.

<sup>8</sup> C. II, v. 241, 246.

<sup>9</sup> C. II, v. 257.

<sup>10</sup> C. III, v. 39, 45, 46; this refers to the hilly neighbourhood and not to the capital.

<sup>11</sup> C. III, v. 59.

<sup>12</sup> C. III, v. 60-91; the last named was Râmayya's favourite servant.

<sup>13</sup> C. III, v. 96.

<sup>14</sup> C. III, v. 96; this clearly seems to refer to Hosadurga, the capital.

<sup>15</sup> C. II, v. 232, 234.

<sup>16</sup> C. II, v. 237.

<sup>17</sup> C. II, v. 240.

<sup>18</sup> C. II, v. 241, 246.

<sup>19</sup> C. II, v. 257.

<sup>20</sup> C. II, v. 237.

<sup>21</sup> C. II, v. 240.

<sup>22</sup> C. II, v. 241, 246.

<sup>23</sup> C. II, v. 257.

<sup>24</sup> C. III, v. 39, 45, 46; this refers to the hilly neighbourhood and not to the capital.

<sup>25</sup> C. III, v. 59.

<sup>26</sup> C. III, v. 60-91; the last named was Râmayya's favourite servant.

<sup>27</sup> C. III, v. 96.

<sup>28</sup> C. III, v. 96; this clearly seems to refer to Hosadurga, the capital.

connection with grave political problems. According to her, at that time, the nobles (ಕೂಂ ನ್ಯಾಯ) all round were massing their armies<sup>1</sup> as a result of Râmanâtha's collecting tribute from eight quarters.<sup>2</sup> The Suritâla, the lord of nine lakhs of horses, was watching for an opportunity to take away Bâdura.<sup>3</sup> In addition to the grudge which Vîra Ballâla<sup>4</sup> bore against him, he (Râmanâtha) had created enmity with (the king of) Vôrugallu by capturing Bolla;<sup>5</sup> and that ever since he humbled Ballâla, the latter was gathering forces<sup>6</sup> (to march on him). These warnings proving futile, she at last gave away the pearl-ball to him. Seventy-seven *manneyars* (nobles) took part in the game that followed.<sup>7</sup> Among others, there were Dêvi Śettiya Lingaṇṇa, Kâṭaṇṇa, Baichappa, Haḷeya Jolluga (? Bolluga), Bâdura, Bâva Tippa, Nallajattiya Lakka, Akkasâleya Bevina Śinga, Linga, Vakkaligara Mudda, Kaṁbadûra Baira, Maḍivâla Mâchaiyya, Komaṭigara Malla, Akkasâleya Chikka, Mînuga Bomma, Chippaligara Salva, Kabbaligara Nâga, Hebbuli Baiyanna, Abaiyya Nâyaka,<sup>8</sup> Bebbuli Baiyyaṇṇa, Vôbaiyya Nâyaka, Kempa, Malla, Kâkuḷla Basaviya Nâyaka, Kolliya Nâga, Mukhamêya Khâna, Moraḍiya Channaṇṇa, Mâdiga Hampa, Kaṁbakulûva Sâmi Dêva, Hirugaṇṇa Mallagaṇṇa, Vurugolli Baiyanna, Hâlaiya, Malaiyya, Daḷavâyi Mâyagaṇṇa, Mangarasaiyya, Sômayya, Buḷliya Bukki Nâyaka, Bomma, Hampa Râja, Kempa Râja,<sup>9</sup> Aḷiya Bhâva Sangama,<sup>10</sup> Muchchaligara Koṇḍa, Bhataraṇjiya-nâda-nâlûva<sup>11</sup> Jâdara Śetty, Nêmiyadaṇḍa-biddu-kaḍiva<sup>12</sup> Sidda Râjana Basavayya, son of the king of Konkaṇa Dêśa, Toregalla Śinga Râja, Negaḷûra Tuḷuva, Huchchangi-durgâda Vîra, Gudiyakôṭeya Ganga Râja, Kundurupeya Taṁma, Bhogarâjana Malla, Maiduna Malla<sup>13</sup> who cut down Nêmi's army, Kanchugârara Kencha, Guttiya Jâyaṇṇa, Chunchanakalla-durgâda Basava, Gaṇḍikôṭeya Ganga Râja, Asudâreya Basavaṇṇa, Kurubara Bîra, Sonnâri Chikka who was Râma's bosom friend, Denchaṇṇa of Jhâvugal, Kallakôṭeya Chikka, Bêvina Śinga, Jangama Linga, Beḷatûra Taṁma, Holeyara Huḷla, and the son (not named) of Baichappa, the prime minister.<sup>14</sup> Ratnâji with her maid Sangi, went up to the seventh storey of the palace to have a sight of the game.

<sup>1</sup> C. III, v. 154.

<sup>4</sup> C. III, v. 185.

<sup>7</sup> C. III, v. 194, 377.

<sup>2</sup> C. III, v. 187.

<sup>5</sup> C. III, v. 185.

<sup>8</sup> Perhaps Ôbayya Nâyaka.

<sup>3</sup> C. III, v. 183.

<sup>6</sup> C. III, v. 186.

<sup>9</sup> C. III, v. 289-302.

<sup>10</sup> C. III, v. 301 and 362; this person is called ಕಂಪಿಲರಾಯನ ಮೊಳೆಪದ ಅಳಿಯ, that is, "the favourite son-in-law of Kaṁpila Râya." He was Aḷiya, son-in-law, to Kaṁpila and Bhâva, brother-in-law, to Râmanâtha.

<sup>11</sup> This means the ruler of Bhataraṇji Nâḍu.

<sup>12</sup> The meaning of this is "he who cuts down the army of Nêmi".

<sup>13</sup> *Maiduna* means brother-in-law (wife's brother) in Kannaḍa. It is difficult to say whose brother-in-law he was. As Râmanâtha is the hero of this work, it looks more reasonable, if we take this person as his brother-in-law instead of Kaṁpila's.

<sup>14</sup> C. III, v. 334-376.

While there, her eyes falling on Râmanâtha, she immediately fell in love with him, in spite of the fact that she was his step-mother. Then (perhaps to know his mind) she sent him, through Sangi, her ring with some sandal-paste.<sup>1</sup> When this was presented Râmanâtha touching only the sandal-paste, returned the ring to her. Being thus disappointed, Ratnâji bided her time. As ill-luck would have it, in the course of the game the ball fell into her apartment. To fetch it, Râmanâtha sent at first Kâṭaṇṇa and then Bolluga<sup>2</sup>; but Ratnâji refused to give the ball to these persons unless he (Râmanâtha) himself came to take it. Finding no other alternative, Râmanâtha entered his step-mother's palace. It was now Ratnâji's chance. She appealed to him in all sorts of ways to yield to her overtures. Râmanâtha spurned all her offers of honour and reward, and immediately left her presence.<sup>3</sup> Thus, failing to achieve her object, Ratnâji turned against him vowing vengeance.

### The Concealment of Ramanatha.

On Kaṁpila's return from hunting, Ratnâji put on a sorrowful appearance and misinterpreted the whole incident to him. When Kaṁpila Râya heard her account, he was greatly enraged; whereupon he called Bandâriya Bukkaṇṇa<sup>4</sup> and ordered him to tell Baichappa to cut off Râmanâtha's head.<sup>5</sup> Bandâri Bukkaṇṇa carried, no doubt, without any protest, this message to the minister. But he grumbled with the latter against king's decision, saying that the days of Kammaṭa were numbered.<sup>6</sup> Baichappa, on the other hand, saw with his (usual) foresight that such an action would spell disaster to Kammaṭa. So, he concealed Râmanâtha, together with his (Râmanâtha's) five wives and companions like Kâṭa, Lingaṇṇa, Sanganaṇṇa, Kaḍekâla Virûpa and Chavurada Ganga, in an underground cell near Dêva Jaṭâṅgi Râmêsha temple.<sup>7</sup> In their stead, the heads of substitutes were taken and shown to Kaṁpila. At the sight of what he took to be Râmanâtha's head, Kaṁpila wept bitterly for the loss of his son. Baichappa arranged for a mock funeral also, during which, two hundred sheep were thrown into the pyre.

### The Invasion of Nemi Khan.

Meanwhile, news got abroad that Râmanâtha was dead.<sup>8</sup> His tributary chiefs (ಕೊಟ್ಟಿದ ಮಾನ್ಯರು?) and the Khâns communicated this to the Suritâla of Dillî.<sup>9</sup> Immensely pleased with this, the Suritâla, at the advice of his

<sup>1</sup> C. III, v. 482-487.

<sup>2</sup> C. IV, v. 141-149.

<sup>3</sup> C. IV, v. 192-249.

<sup>4</sup> This person deserves to be remembered, as one of the founders of Vijayanagara later on.

<sup>5</sup> C. IV, v. 347-348.

<sup>6</sup> C. IV, v. 349-351.

<sup>7</sup> C. IV, v. 405-410 and 528-542; evidently there was one to this deity in Kaṁpila's capital

also.

<sup>9</sup> C. V, v. 6.

<sup>8</sup> C. V, v. 3.

ministers, sent two persons to ascertain the truth of the rumour.<sup>1</sup> Accordingly, they, in the garb of mendicants, started from Gajapatiyapaṭṭaṇa<sup>2</sup> and passing through Gori,<sup>3</sup> Chikka Biduru, Heddore and Siddanakallu,<sup>4</sup> reached Kummaṭa.<sup>5</sup> There, after getting to know the causes that led to the death of Rāmanātha, they went back and told everything to the Suritāla.

Soon after, the Suritāla sent messages to the Lālas, Gujjaras, Gouḷas and Pandyas.<sup>6</sup> Then he gathered his army to the number of 9,00,000 Turukās.<sup>7</sup> Among those of importance that went with it, were Khandēya-khāna, Hēvala-khāna, Malluka-khāna, Bijjōji-khāna, Gujjara-khāna, Bāchōji-khāna and Sambrāma Rāya *manneyars* (nobles).<sup>8</sup> Tumbura-khāna was placed in charge of 80,000 horse.<sup>9</sup> Provisions, money to the amount of 1,00,00,00,000 (ಕಪ್ಪು ಸಾವಿರ ಲಕ್ಷ) and arms like spears, swords, and Turkish bows (ಸಿಂಗಡಿ ಅಂಬು) were also collected. Overjoyed at the sight of this huge army and thinking that Bādura Khān's end was drawing near,<sup>10</sup> the Suritāla returned to Dillī<sup>11</sup> from Bidure.<sup>12</sup> The Turuka army, on the other hand, without caring for bad omens, marched south<sup>13</sup> under Nēmi Khāna<sup>14</sup> towards Kummaṭa, collecting tributes from Malava, Mālava and Gujalars on its way.<sup>15</sup>

On its march, halting only at big cities, it passed through Kumbālakola, Kūru Nimbeyapura, Jambugandīyakaṇive,<sup>16</sup> Hebballa, Herūru, Madhavapūru, Koppāla,<sup>17</sup> Kollāpura, Mylasamudra, Kripagāṭa and Hulihāli, before encamping on the *Heddore*<sup>18</sup> between Apparājana Biḍu and Yaḍeyūra.<sup>19</sup> The distance between its vanguard and rear was seven *gāvudās*.<sup>20</sup> Then, after driving away the Telugas and the Konkaṇās<sup>21</sup> by setting fire to their towns and villages, it at last reached Melubāvi bordering on Rāmanātha's territory.<sup>22</sup> At its

<sup>1</sup> C. V, v. 16.

<sup>2</sup> C. V, v. 17.

<sup>3</sup> This may be a mistake for Gogi, in which case it will be the town of that name, about 50 miles south of Gulbarga.

<sup>4</sup> C. V, v. 18.

<sup>9</sup> C. V, v. 35.

<sup>5</sup> C. V, v. 20.

<sup>10</sup> C. V, v. 46, 47.

<sup>6</sup> C. V, v. 28.

<sup>11</sup> C. V, v. 48.

<sup>7</sup> C. V, v. 29.

<sup>12</sup> C. V, v. 40.

<sup>8</sup> C. V, v. 31-34.

<sup>13</sup> C. V, v. 49.

<sup>14</sup> The same as Mileque neby or Meliquy niby of Nuniz.

<sup>15</sup> C. VII, v. 47-53.

<sup>16</sup> This place is about 15 miles north of Sagar, in Gulbarga District. See *Survey of India Map* provisional issue, No. 56 D.

<sup>17</sup> Perhaps Kopbal in the south-west corner of Hyderabad State.

<sup>18</sup> *Hiri*, meaning bigger and *tore* meaning stream in Kannaḍa, become *Heddore* when joined together. By the bigger stream in the Raichur Doab, it refers to the river Krishna only. This is the same as the Durree of Nuniz's narrative.

<sup>19</sup> C. V, v. 66, 67.

<sup>20</sup> C. V, v. 68.

<sup>21</sup> C. V, v. 71.

<sup>22</sup> C. V, v. 72.

approach Râmanâtha's subjects fled in all directions.<sup>1</sup> Proceeding, the Khân's army passed through Karadikal<sup>2</sup> and encamped on this side<sup>3</sup> of *Heddore*.

This news being conveyed to Kâmpila by his frontier guards,<sup>4</sup> he held consultations with Baichappa. Meanwhile, the Khân's men came and told Kâmpila to hand over Bâdura or to prepare for war.<sup>5</sup> In this crisis, Kâmpila felt sorry once again for the execution of his son Râmanâtha. Then, he collected his army, prominent among the officers of which were Aḷiya Sanganna, Toṭṭada Mâyi Dêva, Daḷapati Kariya Saṅganna, Daḷadulikeya Sôma, Nuggehalliya Nâga, Ari Malli Dêva, *Baṇḍâri Bukkanna*, Bairâ, Karaḍikallana Junjaṇṇa, Chandakolliya Nâga, the son (unnamed) of Gandikôteya Ganga Râja, Karadiya Kâta, Aridâle Linga, Vankkiya Bomma, Holeyara Mâra, Kaḷânjiya Ganga, Kâthâriya Sâluva, Giṇḍiya Lakka, Dûlikôteya Timma, Chikka Pemma,<sup>6</sup> Bêḍâra Lakka<sup>7</sup> and Byâḍâra Bukki Nâyaka.<sup>8</sup> Kâmpila cheered them up by holding out hopes of decent reward.

When darkness set in, Kâmpila told his soldiers that it was time for attack. Accordingly, they got down the *chôraganḍi*<sup>9</sup> (? sally port) and finding the enemy asleep, began to slaughter them.<sup>10</sup> This done, they returned to Kummata<sup>11</sup> with the captured soldiers, horses and elephants. At this Kâmpila was immensely pleased, and gave them rewards.<sup>12</sup>

Nêmi, feeling this set-back very bitterly, gave orders to capture Kummata by escalade.<sup>13</sup> When its siege<sup>14</sup> began, Kâmpila fell into deep contemplation. He knew, that if his son were alive, there would have been no cause for anxiety. In this situation, Baichappa consoled him that he would do his best to kill Nêmi and drive away the Turukas.<sup>15</sup>

Thus assuring him, he went straight to the underground cell and persuaded Râmanâtha to come out and save the city. With great difficulty he brought round the prince to his views, when they all set out for the battle-field. Thus did Râmanâtha reappear once again after *six months* of silence.<sup>16</sup> Bâdura Khâna followed him with 10,000 infantry.<sup>17</sup> At the sight of Bâdura Khâna, the Turukâs flew into a rage and very soon their daggers, arrows, spears and swords were heaped upon him.<sup>18</sup> After some fighting Bâdura Khâna came back well beaten.<sup>19</sup>

<sup>1</sup> C. V, v. 73.

<sup>2</sup> About 10 miles north-east of Mudgal.

<sup>3</sup> C. V, v. 91 ; that is, the southern side.

<sup>4</sup> C. V, v. 91.

<sup>5</sup> C. V, v. 130.

<sup>6</sup> C. V, v. 139-143.

<sup>7</sup> C. V, v. 145.

<sup>8</sup> C. V, v. 148.

<sup>9</sup> C. V, v. 150.

<sup>10</sup> C. V, v. 154-157.

<sup>11</sup> C. V, v. 159.

<sup>12</sup> C. V, v. 161.

<sup>13</sup> C. V, v. 167.

<sup>14</sup> C. V, v. 168-171.

<sup>15</sup> C. V, v. 176 ; C. VI, v. 2-5.

<sup>16</sup> C. VI, v. 31-32.

<sup>17</sup> C. VI, v. 62.

<sup>18</sup> C. VI, v. 64.

<sup>19</sup> C. VI, v. 67.



Thereupon, Rāmanātha was given the command of Kāmpila's army. Battle commencing, the enemy forces were stricken with terror. Kānoji Khāna, Khandeyada Babbara Khāna and Kāna-Malluka all fell back.<sup>1</sup> Again, while Rāma was talking to Baichappa, the Khāns showered their arrows on him.<sup>2</sup> This led to a close fight between Rāmanātha and Tumbura Khāna.<sup>3</sup> At last, Tumbura Khāna fell down dead.<sup>4</sup> Once again the enemy shieldmen charged against Rāmanātha, but to no purpose. Rāma killed them in no time. Thus, Nēmi and his followers, finding themselves disastrously beaten, retreated from the plains of Kummāṭa.<sup>5</sup> Rāma pursued them as far as *Heddore*.<sup>6</sup> In all about 10,00,000 soldiers and countless horses met with destruction.<sup>7</sup>

No sooner did the news of this success reach Kāmpila, than he was over-powered with joy. He then began to doubt whether the new cavalier (ರಾವಣ) was not his own son Rāmanātha. So, when he approached Kāmpila, the latter told him to remove his helmet. When this was done, to his intense joy, Kāmpila found out that he was none other than Rāmanātha.<sup>8</sup> This news reaching the town the whole population was astir with rejoicings. Baichappa and Bādura were amply rewarded.

The only person who felt disappointed at this turn of events was Ratnāji. Fearing that her foul intentions would be found out, she committed suicide,<sup>9</sup> her maid Sangi following her example.<sup>10</sup> None felt gladder at her death than her own husband Kāmpila.<sup>11</sup> Soon after, Rāma was crowned<sup>12</sup> with great pomp, and began to rule well, receiving tributes from the neighbouring chiefs.<sup>13</sup>

### The Delhi Invasion under Matangi.

While these events were taking place ( ? at Kummāṭa), matters were developing in their own way at Dillī. In the court of the Suritāla called *Kakkāsa*,<sup>14</sup> there lived at that time a Mādiga<sup>15</sup> woman by name Mātangi, who was the daughter of a door-keeper.<sup>16</sup> She was none other than Ratnāji re-born to take vengeance on Rāmanātha.<sup>17</sup> With her was also born Sangāyi in the house of Bhattāra Malla.<sup>18</sup>

<sup>1</sup> C. VI, v. 98.

<sup>2</sup> C. VI, v. 105.

<sup>3</sup> C. VI, v. 108.

<sup>4</sup> C. VI, v. 111.

<sup>5</sup> C. VI, v. 115-116; C. VII, 43-45.

<sup>6</sup> C. VI, v. 121.

<sup>13</sup> C. VI, v. 189.

<sup>7</sup> C. VII, v. 51.

<sup>8</sup> C. VI, v. 141-147.

<sup>9</sup> C. VI, v. 181.

<sup>10</sup> C. VI, v. 182.

<sup>11</sup> C. VI, v. 183-186.

<sup>12</sup> C. VI, v. 188.

<sup>14</sup> We do not know what the poet means by this word; the Sultān, at this time, was Muḥam-mad-bin-Tughlak.

<sup>15</sup> One of the depressed castes of India.

<sup>16</sup> C. VI, v. 195.

<sup>17</sup> C. VI, v. 193.

<sup>18</sup> C. VI, v. 194.

The news of Rāmayya's marriage<sup>1</sup> and installation as lord of Hosadurga being carried to the *Suritāḷa* he sent his messengers to collect tributes.<sup>2</sup> But when they went to the *durga* (hill-fort) of Chenniga Rāma,<sup>3</sup> he treated them with contempt.<sup>4</sup> Thereupon they returned to Dillī and communicated to the *Suritāḷa* all that had happened to them, together with the news that Nēmi was hurrying homewards<sup>5</sup> after being defeated on the plains of Kummaṭa.<sup>6</sup>

Just then Nēmi entered (the court) stealthily, as he felt himself ashamed to show his face to the *Suritāḷa*. The *Suritāḷa* asked him whether he would once again lead an expedition against Kummaṭa. To this Nēmi replied that he was prepared to go against Gujjara, Konkaṇa, Ballāḷa, Chōḷa or Pāndya, but not against Rāmanātha.<sup>7</sup> Just about this time, the *Suritāḷa*'s daughter having developed a love for Rāma, the conqueror of Nēmi, desired to see him. As Mātangi agreed<sup>8</sup> to undertake the task of bringing him, the *Suritāḷa* being immensely pleased, sent her at the head of an army numbering 1,00,000 elephants, 10,00,000 horse and innumerable foot.<sup>9</sup> With this huge following, Mātangi started for Kummaṭa Durga, situated at a distance of 360 *gāvudās*.<sup>10</sup> Halting on her way at Chikka Bidure,<sup>11</sup> she reached her destination with 10,96,000 men.<sup>12</sup> There, after pitching her tents close to Jēnkalla,<sup>13</sup> she proposed to capture Kummaṭa in ten days.

#### The First Assault.

At Mātangi's arrival the ministers advised Rāmanātha either to take up arms or to hand over Bādura.<sup>14</sup> Rāmanātha chose the former course. Hence, arrangements were made for the defence of the fort of Kummaṭa. Kātaṇṇa stationed Shetty Lingaṇṇa in one place,<sup>15</sup> Koḷḷi Nāga in one bastion, Beḷatūra Tamma's Nāga in the Durgi bastion and Taḷavāra Māra in a fourth.<sup>16</sup> Bolluga and Kāṭuga took their stand at the sally port (ಚೋರನಿರತ) and Bādura Khāna at the entrance.<sup>17</sup> Kāṭa Nāyaka took up his position on the fort ( ? ) backed by his own followers and the long-bowed Khāns (ಸಿಂಗಾಡಿಯ ಪಾಸರು).<sup>18</sup>

After getting ready in this fashion, once, in the dead of night, Kāṭa Nāyaka's men attacked the Dillī forces with such fierceness that, taken by

<sup>1</sup> C. VII, v. 19-23; as he was already married, this repetition is not clear.

<sup>2</sup> C. VII, v. 26-28.

<sup>3</sup> C. VII, v. 30.

<sup>4</sup> C. VII, v. 35.

<sup>5</sup> C. VI, v. 197-200.

<sup>6</sup> C. VII, v. 77-78; according to Kittel one *gāvuda* covers ten to twelve English miles.

<sup>7</sup> C. VII, v. 79; it is not known whether this is the same as Bidure, that is, Bidar.

<sup>8</sup> C. VII, v. 82.

<sup>9</sup> C. VII, v. 83.

<sup>10</sup> C. VII, v. 89-91.

<sup>11</sup> C. VII, v. 110.

<sup>5</sup> C. VII, v. 38.

<sup>6</sup> C. VII, v. 43.

<sup>7</sup> C. VII, v. 58.

<sup>9</sup> C. VII, v. 75. Evidently the Moslems in Kampila's service.

<sup>16</sup> C. VII, v. 111.

<sup>17</sup> C. VII, v. 113.

<sup>18</sup> C. VII, v. 114.

surprise, they were beaten and routed.<sup>1</sup> The Khân Khâns were put to death recklessly and an immense booty captured.<sup>2</sup>

Despair, now, threatened the enemy in the face. Chief among those who murmured was Malluka Khâna.<sup>3</sup> This made even Mâtangi despondent.<sup>4</sup> At this juncture, the Teluga nobles (ಪುಂಜಿಯರು) in charge of the entrance, discovering an opportunity to kill Râma,<sup>5</sup> sent a letter before day-break to Mâtangi offering to open the city-gates.<sup>6</sup> Thus encouraged, Mâtangi launched her attack on Kummata<sup>7</sup> once again. To this the lower fort succumbed.<sup>8</sup>

In this crisis, Kâtanṇa ran up to his brother, who, at that time, was playing at chess. When told of the situation,<sup>9</sup> Râmanâtha could not at first believe it, as he had implicit faith in the ability of Dêviya Shetty Linga and Bâdura.<sup>10</sup> But on learning of the treachery of the Teluga nobles,<sup>11</sup> he mounted his horse Bolla and followed by his seventy-seven nobles,<sup>12</sup> rushed to the scene of trouble. Râmanâtha's presence turned the tide of battle. His men gathering courage, charged their foes with such success that the number of the Turukâs killed by the Byâḍas (Bêḍars) was so great that even Mâtangi was staggered at it.<sup>13</sup> Then, without minding even the promise given by her to the Mahâ-Pâchcha (the great Pâsha), she thought of returning (to Dillî).<sup>14</sup> But, she had scarcely gone one *gâvuda*<sup>15</sup> when she changed her mind,<sup>16</sup> as the Teluga nobles sent her word, for the second time, that they would open to her the city-gates.<sup>17</sup>

### The Second Assault.

Thus induced, Mâtangi again returned to the attack of Kummata.<sup>18</sup> At this, a servant of Kâta ran with the news to Râmayya and urged him to start afresh.<sup>19</sup> Unperturbed, Chenna Râmayya hastened to the fray with his 1,000 bowmen.<sup>20</sup> A bloody fight began, and a good many men on both sides fell

<sup>1</sup> C. VII, v. 116.

<sup>2</sup> C. VII, v. 117-120.

<sup>3</sup> C. VII, v. 124.

<sup>4</sup> C. VII, v. 125.

<sup>5</sup> C. VII, v. 127.

<sup>6</sup> C. VII, v. 128, 129.

<sup>13</sup> C. VII, v. 191, 192 and 221 ; one particular verse (C. VII, v. 227) gives the total in lakhs and crores, a number difficult to believe. It runs thus :—

ಸತ್ತ ಮಂದಿಯು ಲಿಖ್ವ ಕೋಟಿಲಕ್ಷವು ನೂರು |

ಲಕ್ಷ ಕೋಟಿಯು ಗಜಗಣಿಯೊ ||

ಯಲ್ಲ ದಳವು ಆನೆ ಕುದುರೆ ಸತ್ತುದು ಲಿಖ್ವ

ವಿಶ್ವದ ಮಂದಿಗಳ ಸಾಯೆ.

<sup>14</sup> C. VII, v. 229, 230.

<sup>15</sup> Ten to twelve miles (*Kittel*).

<sup>16</sup> C. VII, v. 231.

<sup>17</sup> C. VII, v. 232, 234.

<sup>7</sup> C. VII, v. 130-132.

<sup>8</sup> C. VII, v. 142.

<sup>9</sup> C. VII, v. 133.

<sup>10</sup> C. VII, v. 140.

<sup>11</sup> C. VII, v. 142.

<sup>12</sup> C. VII, v. 179, 180.

<sup>18</sup> C. VII, v. 236.

<sup>19</sup> C. VII, v. 237-239.

<sup>20</sup> C. VII, v. 249.

near the Tiger entrance.<sup>1</sup> Among those killed on Râma's side were Holeyâra Huḷla, Nalle Nâga, Billa Singa, Mînuga Lakka, Jali Buḷliya Bukka Nâyaka, Kallakôṭeya Lakka, Chavurada Ganga, Telugara Timmuga, Golla Dyâva, Yalla, Mâra, Hakkiya Ranganṇa, Mudda Nâyaka, Mâdiga Hampa, Koḷli Nâga, Kallukôṭeya Chikka, Kaṇathûra Kalla, Gâniga Channa, Kotagâra (?) and Kômati Malla.<sup>2</sup> Undaunted, in spite of the death of these important leaders (ನಾಯಕ),<sup>3</sup> Râma's followers carried on the fight.<sup>4</sup> Both Shatty Linga and Kâta fought to the best of their powers.<sup>5</sup> In the dead of night they stealthily entered the Turuka camp and put a number of them to the sword.<sup>6</sup> With all that, the casualties on Râma's side continued to increase.<sup>7</sup> Among the leaders that now fell were Mandârâgiri Malla, Siddarâja Basava, Shâmaraja, Negaḷûra Tuḷuva, Muchchaligara Koṇḍa, Kundupêṭeya Tamma, Kan-chugârara Kencha, Gaṇḍikôṭeya Ganga Râja, Basava, Guttiya Jayaṇṇa, Kabbaligara Koṇḍa, Kumbârara Nâga, who fought against Mâtangi's army at Jambuganḍiya Kaṇive, and Bôgarâjana Malla, who fought against Tumbura Khâna and the enemy's Turkish bowmen (ಸಿಂಗಡಿ).<sup>8</sup> When matters reached this stage, Bâdura Khâna took up the burning darts (ಪೆಟಲಂಬು ಸಿಂಗಡಿ) and continued the fight.<sup>9</sup> But, in the end, he too fell.<sup>10</sup> Asudâreya Basava, who was fighting against Kâsiya Dêshâda Khâna Mallukas, killed 1,00,000 troops (*pavuja*) and fell.<sup>11</sup> Then fell Hampa Râja, Kempa Râja, Kurubâra Bîra, Vakkaligara Mudda, Gâniga Chenna, Maḍivaḷa Mâcha, Jâḍâra Shatty, Bâva Sangâma,<sup>12</sup> Jâvagâvala Koṇḍa, (?) Dêvi Shattiya Linga, Shâva Râja,<sup>13</sup> Belathûra Tamma and Kômatigara Malla, who was fighting against Vakadumma Kâna.<sup>14</sup> When Râma saw most of his nobles fall thus, he gave up all hopes of saving the fort. He, therefore, got down its walls and made a desperate sally against Mâtangi and her Turukâs. At this, a lakh of horse and infantry charged (poor) young Râma.<sup>15</sup> In spite of this, he plunged into their midst and caught hold of Mâtangi; but on a second thought let her go as she was a woman. This chivalrous conduct did him no good. For, taking advantage of his generosity, Mâtangi took aim and shot an arrow at him, with the object of putting an end to his life. This, taking effect, struck Râma on the chest.<sup>16</sup> As a result of this he lost colour, his appearance changing visibly. When his bodyguards saw this, they roared out in anger and

<sup>1</sup> C. VII, v. 259.

<sup>4</sup> C. VII, v. 275.

<sup>7</sup> C. VII, v. 285.

<sup>3</sup> C. VII, v. 260-269.

<sup>5</sup> C. VII, v. 281, 283.

<sup>8</sup> C. VII, v. 287-298.

<sup>3</sup> C. VII, v. 270.

<sup>6</sup> C. VII, v. 284.

<sup>9</sup> C. VII, v. 300.

<sup>10</sup> C. VII, v. 303; if this refers to the same Bâdura the fugitive, it is historically incorrect.

<sup>11</sup> C. VII, v. 304.

<sup>12</sup> Bâva or the brother-in-law Sangama is called here ಚಕ್ಕಪ್ಪಾಯದ and ಅಕ್ಕ ವಾರಮ್ಮನ ಗಂಡ, that is, young in age and husband of the elder sister Mâramma.

<sup>13</sup> *Sic*; perhaps Shâma Râja is the correct name.

<sup>14</sup> C. VII, v. 305-315.

<sup>15</sup> C. VII, v. 335; ಚಕ್ಕಪ್ಪಾಯದ ರಾಮ.

<sup>16</sup> C. VII, v. 342.

immediately rained their arrows on the enemy, thus throwing them into hopeless disorder. Kâṭa and Samara Bôya (?) took part in this, by making matters too hot for the Turukâs. So did Bâṇada Basavayya punish the Mallukâs very severely.<sup>1</sup> Nor did Râma's lancers spare any. They singled out the Khân Khâns and slew a good number of them close to the Tiger gate. Thus, by their unparalleled heroism the enemy were killed in large numbers, and were piled in heaps in front of that gateway.

### The Closing Scenes.

Presently, Râma recovering himself, realized the situation and hastened to get the gates closed. This done, he hurried with the survivors to Gûge-gallu,<sup>2</sup> where taking a new position continued to take his toll of men.<sup>3</sup> When Kâṭa Nâyaka caught sight of Râmanâtha's critical condition, he hurried from the inner fort to join him. Meanwhile, the enemy, in their endless columns, continued to press on his devoted band. Seeing this, Râma grew hopeless and told Kâṭa to run home, as there was none in charge of the womenfolk.<sup>4</sup> Before parting, his instructions to him were to prepare his parents for his (Râma's) approaching death. To this was added a request to his father, not to put an end to his daughters-in-law till he (Kaṁpila) heard of his (Râma's) death. Unwillingly Kâṭa took leave of his brother.

Arriving at the palace, he disclosed to his parents the critical condition in which Râmanâtha was placed. At this, there was much wailing and uproar in the palace, Kaṁpila, Harihara Dêvi, Mâramma, Singamma and the servants, all rolling in agony.<sup>5</sup> Then, taking Râma for one dead, the king sent for his daughters-in-law and pointed out to them, that as there was no use in their living after Râma's death, it was better for them to get ready for the final sacrifice. Then, after distributing all sorts of costly robes and jewels among them, he told them to decorate themselves for the last time, in the best way they liked. Meantime, he urged Kâṭa to get the fiery pit ready for them. This being kindled, Kâṭa saw Râma's wives enter it and pass out of this world.<sup>6</sup> Then, returning to his own chambers, he informed his wife about the king's decision. Without protest or delay, she willingly offered herself as the next object of sacrifice. At her request, Kâṭa slew her with his own sword,<sup>7</sup> after which, he mournfully re-traced his steps to his father. It was now the turn of Hariamma, the queen-mother. Unflinchingly she too entered the fire and was soon consumed by the flames.<sup>8</sup> Thus after accomplishing his mission, Kâṭa returned to where Râma was yet struggling with his foes.

<sup>1</sup> C. VII, v. 345.

<sup>2</sup> Literally "the owl's rock".

<sup>3</sup> C. VII, v. 348.

<sup>4</sup> C. VII, v. 352.

<sup>5</sup> C. VII, v. 363-365.

<sup>6</sup> C. VII, v. 369.

<sup>7</sup> C. VII, v. 371-372.

<sup>8</sup> C. VII, v. 373.

### The Last Stand.

Meanwhile, in addition to the hill-fort which they had surrounded on all sides, the Turukâs had broken into and occupied the town as well.<sup>1</sup> Just then, at another charge from the huge mass of the enemy, some more of Râma's devoted followers fell. Chief among them was Dévi Settiya Lingaṇṇa,<sup>2</sup> who, after many surprising feats of valour, died gloriously in the service of his master. Of the others, the more important were Aliya Tipayya, Kalunâra Baira, Bâva Namma, Bâdura,<sup>3</sup> Gâniga Chenna, Kabbaligara Nâga, Kumbâra Nâga, Sonnâri Chikka, Hebbuli Mâra, Gutti Chêya, Kala Bhaṇṭa Malla, Muchchaligara Konḍa, Jangama Linga, Jangama Basava, Maḍivâla Mâcha, Vokkala Mudda, Kurubara Bîra, Gandikôteya Gangaṇṇa, Basava, Bhâva Sangama,<sup>4</sup> Belâthûra Tamma, Jâvagâvala Kencha, Bêvina Singa, Bôga Râja, Kundooru Periya, Holeyara Huḷḷa, Mâdiga Hampa, Alasudâreya Basava, Kola Komaṭi, Kallakôteya Chikka, Malla Bôya, Billa Singa, Baluhaggada Malla, Kolegâra Dyâva, Hâvali Haṁpa and Haḷḷikârara Kencha.<sup>5</sup> With their death all resistance practically ceased. When commotion subsided in all parts of the field, Râmayya thought that the Telugâs had betrayed the fort to the Turukâs.<sup>6</sup> At this he cried out "Alas! Why not the treacherous Telugâs keep the fort for themselves? Let them at least live on and thrive! Sure, a *taḷavara* (a village watchman) will be installed king of this place hereafter."<sup>7</sup> Thus, while he stood wondering at what was happening, another swarm of the Turukâs came howling and menacing upon him and Kâṭa. The brothers stood almost alone against their foes. In spite of the best fight they put up, shortly Kâṭa too paid the highest penalty.<sup>8</sup>

### Ramanatha's Death and After.

It was now, that for the first and the last time, Râma forgot himself. Calling upon his favourite deity Jâtâṅgi Râmêsha, he prepared himself to meet his end as nobly as he had lived.<sup>9</sup> When Mâtangi saw this, she hurried forward to give the *coup de grace* to Râma.<sup>10</sup> Yet the Khâns feared to approach him, much less touch him. She, therefore, sent a certain Bhattara Malla, who nearing Râma, told him that he had come to take away his head. Hearing this, Râmayya drew out a knife and cutting off his own head, offered it to him.<sup>11</sup> This Bhattara Malla picked up and carried to Mâtangi.

Greatly pleased with it, she got it rolled up in a silk cloth and placing it on horseback, sent it, before daybreak, to Dillî, with an escort of 500

<sup>1</sup> C. VII, 375.

<sup>3</sup> This repetition of a Bâdura's death, for the second time, is difficult to explain.

<sup>4</sup> This person's death is also repeated twice.

<sup>5</sup> C. VII, v. 385-391.

<sup>6</sup> C. VII, v. 392.

<sup>7</sup> C. VII, v. 317.

<sup>2</sup> C. VII, v. 384.

<sup>8</sup> C. VII, v. 400.

<sup>9</sup> C. VII, v. 402.

<sup>10</sup> C. VII, v. 401.

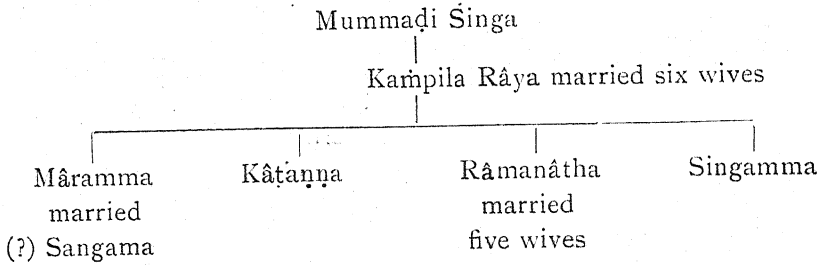
<sup>11</sup> C. VII, v. 408.

horses.<sup>1</sup> In ten days it reached that place. Both the *Suriñāla* and his daughter felt sorry for the death of Rāma.<sup>2</sup> The *Suriñāla* rebuked Mātangi for killing Rāma, when he wanted him to be brought alive. After one full day's public display at Dillī, it was sent back to Kummaṭa,<sup>3</sup> at the suggestion of the wise men of the court.

On seeing it, both Kāmpila and Hariamma<sup>4</sup> wept bitterly for the loss of Rāma.<sup>5</sup> After this, handing over the fort to Baichappa, Kāmpila told him to give maintenance to the sons of the nobles who had fallen in battle.<sup>6</sup>

Then, calling the heralds (ಚಟ್ವರು), servants (ಉಳಿನವರು), dancers (ನಟರು), musicians, waiters (ಕಟ್ಟನೆಯವರು), tradesmen, Harihara and Bhūka,<sup>7</sup> he ordered them to take Rāma's head to Kāshi.<sup>8</sup> Accordingly, it was taken in a *palanquin* to its destination. Passing through Kalyāṇa, Kalubârage, Kollâpura, Aṅga, Vaṅga, Kaḷiṅga, Kāsmira, Vîtuṅga, Vikrama, Mârâṭa, Bangâḷa, Nêpâḷa, Gujarâti, Dillīya Dêśa, and Mâlava Dêśa,<sup>9</sup> it was delivered to the sacred river (Ganges). There it became transformed into a *linga*.<sup>10</sup>

#### GENEALOGICAL TREE OF KAMPILA ACCORDING TO THE POET GANGA.



<sup>1</sup> C. VII, v. 416.

<sup>2</sup> C. VII, v. 418.

<sup>3</sup> C. VII, v. 436.

<sup>4</sup> Note the contradiction between this statement and that made by the poet, a few lines above, where he says that Hariamma committed *jôhur*.

<sup>5</sup> C. VII, v. 438.

<sup>6</sup> C. VII, v. 444.

<sup>7</sup> *Sic*; without doubt this should have been the same as Bhaṇḍâri Bukkaṇṇa noticed earlier who became later the founder of Vijayanagara.

<sup>8</sup> C. VII, v. 448, 449.

<sup>9</sup> C. VII, v. 452, 454.

<sup>10</sup> C. VII, v. 458.

